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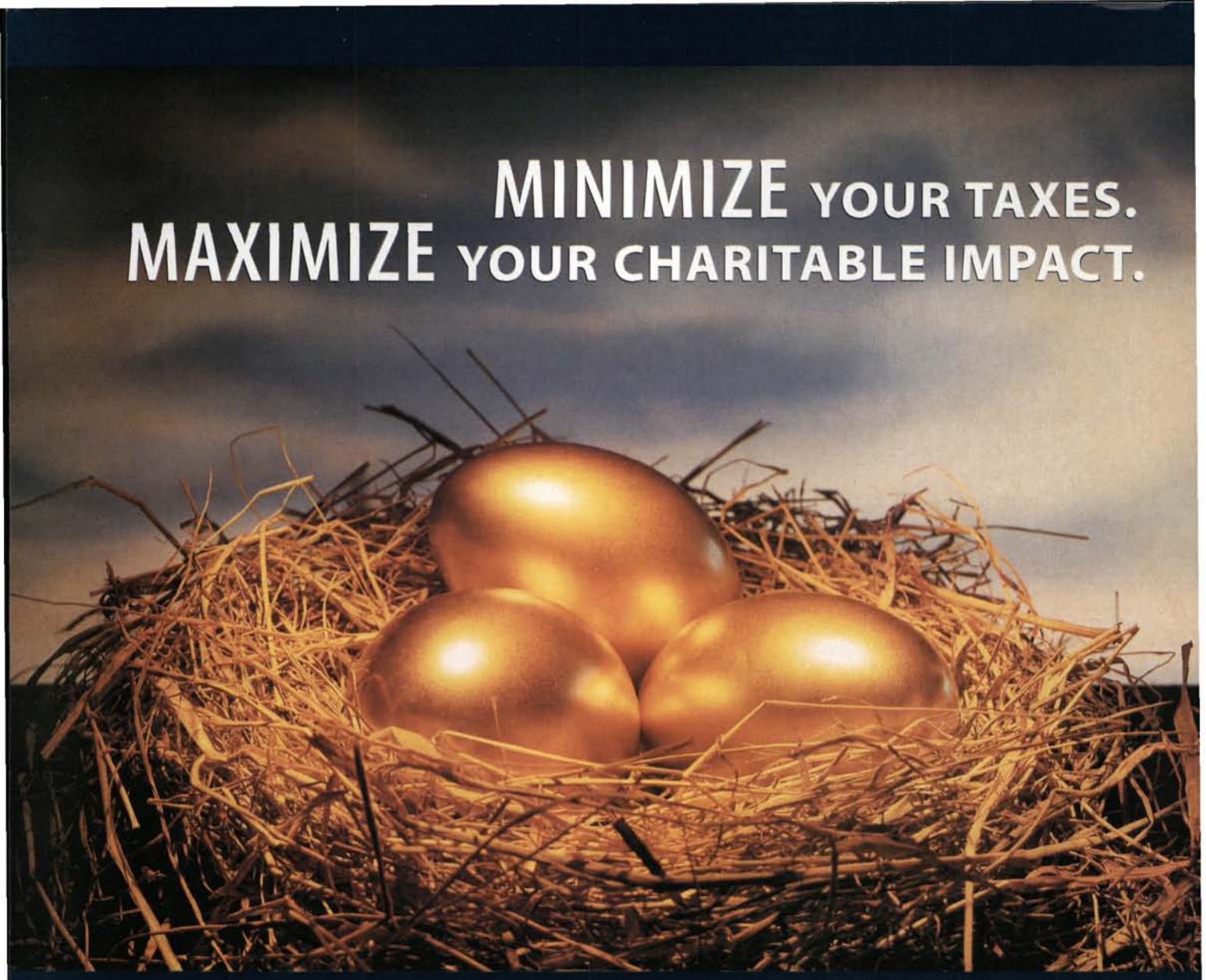

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NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

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Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

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August 12 issue; printed July 25

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MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
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ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
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■ LETTERS ■

REMEMBER THE ROCK!

David Pryce-Jones's "Rock On" (July 1) does what I had long hoped an American publication would do: inform its readers about the situation in Gibraltar.

Tony Blair wishes to grant the sovereignty of Gibraltar to Spain to satisfy his own political ambitions. Last month the government of Gibraltar placed ads in the British press, asking readers to indicate their support. Within a week, 350,000 affirmative replies were received. Nevertheless, Mr. Blair persists.

In the interest of self-determination and democracy, please continue to write about the fight for Gibraltar.

Perry Stieglitz
Director, Gibraltar Information Bureau
Washington, D.C.

GO FOR THE WALLET

Re Rachel Ehrenfeld's article on Yasser Arafat's finances ("And a Thief, Too," July 29): With these disclosures, the American public should be completely disillusioned with this dictator.

Now that it is public knowledge that funds designated for building a viable Palestinian Arab economy have been diverted to the personal treasury of Yasser Arafat, and that other donated moneys have been used to fuel terrorism, including suicide bombers, the approach should be that taken against al-Qaeda by President Bush. The moneys should be confiscated and held under the trusteeship of the U.S. until the time when a democratic Palestinian state emerges.

For Arafat to profit from his misdeeds is a miscarriage of justice.

Nelson Marans
Silver Spring, Md.

FRIENDS FOR KEEPS?

Jay Nordlinger's piece ("Rude Awakenings," July 15) on the effects of the Middle East wars on U.S. campuses effectively described the shifting alliance between Jews and conservatives.

Many American Jews are finding that their traditional liberal allies lack the fundamental understanding and commitment that Israel needs in this time of crisis. This is true not only on college campuses, but throughout American society.

It remains to be seen whether the present alliance between conservatives and Jews regarding Israel and her battle for survival will have an impact on domestic politics as well.

Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein
President, International Fellowship of Christians and Jews
Chicago, Ill.

BACK TO '67

Messers. Rivkin, Casey, and Bartram ("Remember the *Caroline!*," July 1) write a clear and persuasive analysis of "anticipatory self-defense," but they err in describing Israel as having preemptively struck "Egypt, Syria, and Jordan."

Egypt, yes (although Nasser had blockaded the straits of Tiran), but Syria and Jordan, no. After Israel's defensive attack against Egyptian forces, Syria began shelling northern Israel from the Golan Heights, and Jordan seized Mount Scopus and began shelling western Jerusalem. Only in response to these attacks did Israel seize the Golan Heights, eastern Jerusalem, and the West Bank.

Edward M. Siegel
New York, N.Y.

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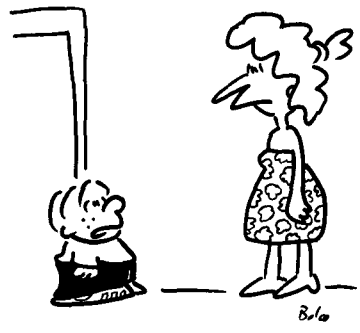
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In Zogby poll, 62 percent rate President **Bush**'s job performance as "excellent" or "good." . . . Attorney General **John Ashcroft**: "Al Qaeda maintains a hidden but active presence in the United States waiting to strike again." . . . **Ivo H. Daalder**, co-author of Brookings Institution study on homeland-security department, in *New York Times*: "The proposal put on the table is too big; it needs to focus on just those functions directly related to homeland security like the Coast Guard, customs, intelligence analysis and protecting public and private infrastructure." . . . "I have to remind members what we did to create the Transportation Security Administration monster," says Rep. **John Mica** (R., Fla.). "We created the monster and we've got to get it under control." . . . Secretary of State **Colin Powell**: "I consider it absolutely imperative that the actual issuance of visas remain within the Department of State." . . . In CNN/*USA Today* poll, only 39 percent say U.S. is "winning" the war on terrorism. . . . In CBS News poll, 73 percent support U.S. military action to remove **Saddam Hussein** from power.

■ Senate minority leader **Trent Lott** on Democrats attacking GOP over Social Security, in *New York Times*: "When all else fails, political scoundrels scare old people." . . . Sen. **Jon Corzine** (D., N.J.) on Bush's Wall Street speech, in *Washington Times*: "We heard he was going to have a **Teddy Roosevelt** moment, but when you really cut to the substance, he had a teddy-bear moment." . . . Sen. **Barbara Boxer** (D., Calif.) reads from same script, in *San Francisco Chronicle*: "We heard he was going to have a Teddy Roosevelt moment, but when you really cut to the substance, he had a teddy-bear moment." . . . In Gallup poll, Congress earns 54 percent approval rating. . . . Sen. **Fred Thompson** (R., Tenn.) refuses to endorse either **Lamar Alexander** or Rep. **Ed Bryant** in hard-fought GOP primary to succeed him. . . . Balanced-budget crusader and former Democratic Rep. **Tim Penny** announces run for governor of Minnesota as Independent, hoping to succeed **Jesse Ventura**. . . . Field Poll: 41 percent of California voters support Gov. **Gray Davis** (D.) and 34 percent support challenger **Bill Simon** (R.), with 25 percent undecided. Only 41 percent approve of Davis's job performance, and 49 percent disapprove. . . . Republicans think they have lined up a real challenger in New York's 8th District: **James Farrin**. The district comprises Manhattan's West Side, and has long been represented by left-liberal blowhard and **Clinton** apologist *par excellence* **Jerrold Nadler**. If the Republicans can win there, they can win *anywhere* —including Berkeley.

■ *The Hotline* polls voters in home states of ten potential Democratic presidential candidates; only Sen. **John Kerry** (Mass.) and Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (Conn.) run ahead of Bush, and only Sen. **Christopher Dodd** (Conn.) and Gov. **Howard Dean** (Vt.) run close behind; Bush holds big leads over Gov. **Roy Barnes** (Ga.), Sen. **Tom Daschle** (S.D.), Sen. **John Edwards** (N.C.), Sen. **Russ Feingold** (Wis.), Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (Mo.), and **Al Gore** (Tenn.). . . . In dollars, Edwards outpaces all other candidates, raising $2.6 million in second quarter. . . . In CNN/*USA Today* poll, 53 percent of Democrats want Gore to run for president in 2004. . . . Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.), in *National Journal*: "I know that I know as much about [foreign policy] as anybody in the business, and I work hard at it. . . . I am perfectly satisfied that I am at the top of my game, doing something that I think is vitally important." . . . NBC's **Tim Russert**, to Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.): "Would you ever run as a Democrat for president?" McCain: "No." Russert: "Would you ever run as an independent?" McCain: "I envision no such scenario." Russert: "Ooh, that's different."



"I pulled Suzie McAllister's pigtail at school, and now I'm a registered sex offender."

■ Applications to join Foreign Service triple since Sept. 11, but fewer officers want "hardship" postings with security risks. GAO also finds inadequacies: 62 percent of China staff lack required language skills. . . . Almost one in five children has an immigrant parent, says federal report. . . . NASA grounds Space Shuttle fleet until at least September, after finding fuel-line cracks in all four orbiters. . . . **Edward Law** sues West Palm Beach strip club under Americans with Disabilities Act, charging that lap-dance room doesn't have proper wheelchair access. . . . NBC's anchorman-in-waiting **Brian Williams**, in *Washington Post*: "I think my politics would surprise a lot of people."

■ Former South African president **Nelson Mandela**, introducing Bill Clinton at AIDS conference: "Only very rarely does the world respect someone as much as we love and respect him." . . . Palestinian leaders, including **Yasser Arafat**, stash away millions in foreign bank accounts because they fear collapse of their authority, reports *Washington Times*. . . . **Zahra Shojaei**, Iran's presidential adviser on women's issues, defends practice of stoning women to death for adultery. . . . China releases 74-year-old Tibetan scholar **Tanak Jigme Sangpo**, believed to be longest-held political prisoner. . . . German parliament approves release of East German spy files on prominent public figures, despite strong opposition from former chancellor **Helmut Kohl**.

■ **Dennis Miller**: "So, Your Honor, the Pledge is unconstitutional because it says, 'under God.' Guess that means when you were sworn in with your hand on a Bible, and at the end of your oath repeated, 'so help me God,' that makes your job unconstitutional. Therefore you have no job, which means your ruling doesn't mean crap." **NR**

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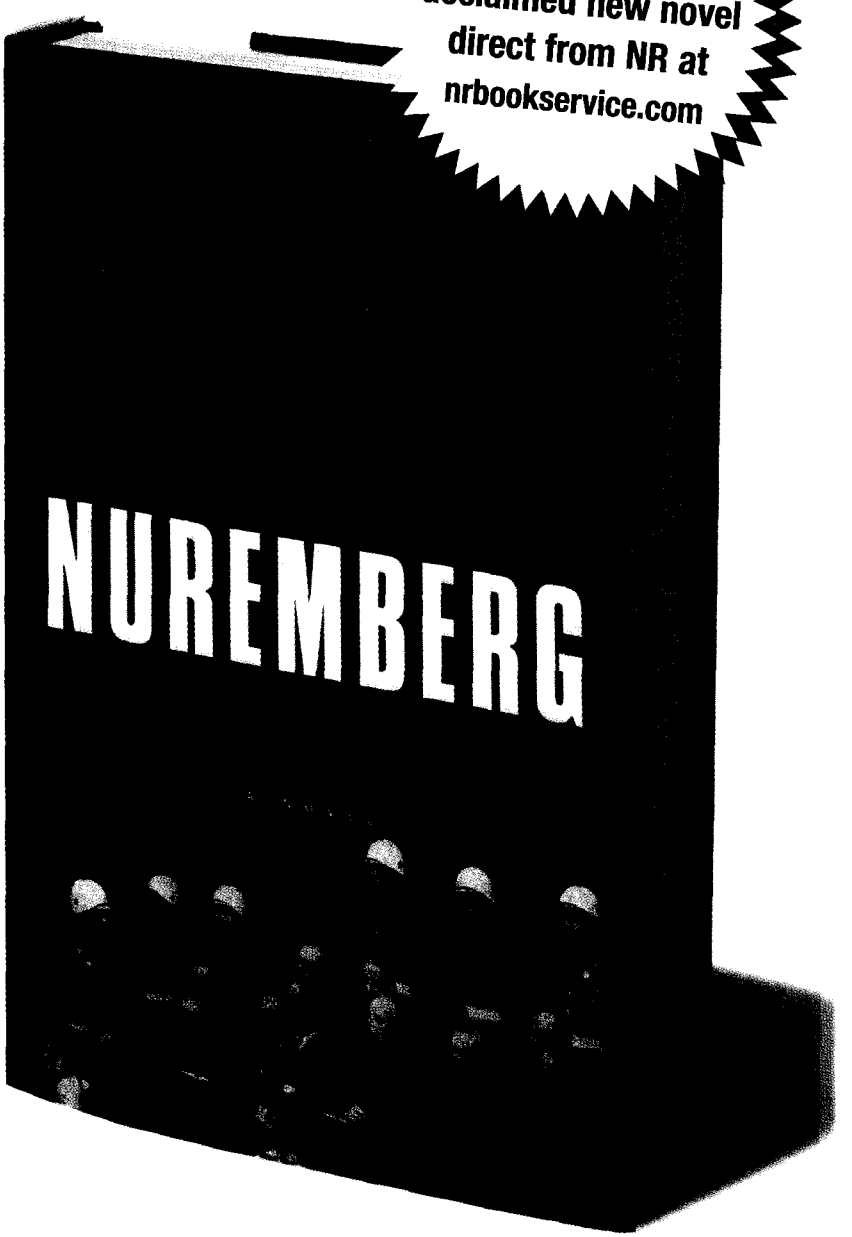

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THE WEEK

■ Have you noticed that every day Dick Gephardt speaks, the stock market declines?

■ Sen. Joe Biden, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, announced that he would hold hearings at summer's end on the impending war with Iraq. "I want them [the administration] to define their objectives in Iraq. I want to know what scenarios there are for eliminating the chemical and biological weapons that Iraq may use if we attack. I'd like to know how important our allies are in this." Is Biden proposing a congressional version of leaking our war plans? Not necessarily. President Bush has been defining our goals in speeches, notably at West Point—the overthrow of terrorist regimes, and preemptive defense against weapons of mass destruction—but they should be aired again, and again. All war is uncertain. Before the Gulf War, some analysts predicted tens of thousands of American casualties; it didn't happen then, but our luck could be different now. Leadership requires building consensus, and Congress—both in public hearings and private discussions—is a visible and constitutionally privileged forum for doing so. The Iraqis, meanwhile, will take from the discussion what NRO contributor James Robbins said they took from the leaked plans: Surely these were fakes put out by the Aggressor Bush to mislead us. Unless, like the owner of the purloined letter, the Zionist Agent hid the truth in plain sight. Unless . . .

■ Six proposals for rebuilding Ground Zero were unveiled recently in New York, to general disgruntlement. The plans for 80-story buildings, overlooking the preserved footprints of the Trade Towers, reminded more than one New Yorker of Albany—specifically, the bland array of mini-skyscrapers, too small to be grand, too big to be ignored, in the New York state capital. But there was also a sense that the sacred character of the ground had been insufficiently memorialized. Beverly Willis, a member of a "civic group," said that the plans "are all driven by hard economics." Why not? The New York victims of 9/11 died because they had gone to work. The American skyscraper glorifies economic effort. The Trade Towers symbolized, even as they helped to do the work of, a society whose members are free to spend their days on activities other than waging war or parsing religious commentaries. Osama bin Laden picked his target well. We express our determination to beat him and what he represents, not by perpetuating a lugubrious death site, but by helping the wheels of human action to spin.

■ In a surprise move, John Walker Lindh pleaded guilty to two felony charges of soldiering for the Taliban, and was sentenced to 17-20 years in prison. The deal the suddenly contrite Lindh made with the prosecution spared him the risk of a life sentence, and the government the risk of revealing classified information in court. Lindh also promised to tell what he knows about the Taliban and al-Qaeda to the government (little enough, no doubt, for he was not given responsibilities commensurate with his ill will). Meanwhile, in another courtroom, Zacarias Moussaoui, the "20th hijacker," tried to plead guilty to being a member of al-Qaeda and of having knowledge of 9/11, although he wished to avoid a death penalty; the judge ordered him to take a week to think about it. The sour taste that both episodes leave in the mouth are the effects of trials in the ordinary court system. Why should Lindh and Moussaoui not have faced military trials? American military courts have more safeguards for rights than most legal systems in the world, and better defense lawyers than the public defenders in many criminal jurisdictions. Combatants arrested on battlefields are not sent to night court, or to Johnnie Cochran. Enemy combatants in this war should not enjoy such privileges, even when the battlefield extends to American flight schools.

■ There might have been a point to creating a new Department of Homeland Security, as President Bush proposed in June, if the new department were going to be flexible and creative enough to adapt to an ever-shifting array of threats. But as the proposal has made its way through Congress, it has become obvious that adaptability will not be permitted. Bush wanted to be able to redirect 5 percent of the department's budget as needs arose, with prior congressional notice. Congress said no, even to this humble request. The components of the new department are receiving dollars in proportion to their pull on Capitol Hill. Joe Lieberman's version of the bill would actually take discretion away from the president, narrowing his ability to waive civil-service protections for national-security reasons and imposing union wages on emergency reconstruction projects. Meanwhile, the administration shows no interest in policies that might increase our security, such as letting pilots fly armed and using profiling. The president's new department is turning into an expensive alternative to security.

■ The skies could become considerably less friendly to hijackers thanks to the House's overwhelming vote to permit airline pilots to carry guns. Members of Congress are among the most frequent of fliers, and they are not prepared to trust their safety entirely to the Transportation Security Administration they created last fall. Senate supporters include California Democrat Barbara Boxer, whose regular coast-to-coast flights have apparently helped her overcome

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her usual hostility to armed self-defense. She points out that armed pilots would be a second-to-last line of defense that might prevent the ultimate precaution of shooting down a hijacked commercial plane threatening an attack. After the vote, the Bush administration sacked John Magaw, the head of the TSA, who had led the effort to keep guns out of the cockpit, and common sense and fiscal constraints out of the new system of airport security. Transportation secretary Norman Mineta, who enthusiastically echoed every Magaw pronouncement, should follow him out the door.

■ You might think that the White House would be delighted that Senate Democrats have picked a fight over welfare by seeking to undo the remarkably successful reforms of 1996. You would be wrong. Since 1996, welfare rolls are down by over 50 percent, there are 2.8 million fewer poor children, and the poverty rate for single mothers is the lowest in history. The Senate Democrats' response to all this success is a bill that guts current work requirements, waters down the five-year limit on federal benefits, and rewards single motherhood. Rather than call the Democrats on their attempt to put millions of poor families back on the dole, the White House will apparently let welfare reform—the good bills as well as the bad ones—die a quiet death this fall. You might think that Democratic efforts to repeal the most successful initiative of the last decade provide Republicans with a terrific campaign issue. You would be right.

■ Canadians pay lower prices for many prescription drugs than Americans do, in large part because Canada has price controls. When they sell in Canada, the drug companies can charge enough to cover the cost of manufacturing their pills, plus a little bit extra. Most of the burden of paying for research and development costs falls on American consumers. Almost all Senate Democrats, and many Republicans, want to let Americans re-import drugs from Canada in order to enjoy the lower prices. The promise of lower prices is illusory: Drug companies are not going to develop and sell drugs without the prospect of ever making a profit. If re-importation is made legal, the drug companies will have to withhold drugs from Canada until it allows prices to rise to more realistic levels. That way, they could continue to charge free-market prices in America. Those prices would, indeed, probably rise, not fall, until Canada relented, since the drug companies would be making no money there. Liberal congressmen would like to be able to import Canada's price controls. But their plan is likely to backfire.

■ In most years, Congress passes 13 separate spending bills to fund the various departments of the federal government. The pro-spending party in Congress, which includes Republicans as well as Democrats, has in recent years adopted the tactic of scheduling the largest, highest-stakes bills for last. When the early spending bills are being debated, the spenders add money to them and promise to pay for it by cutting those later bills. Then, at the end of the congressional session, those later bills are suddenly discovered to be

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

dangerously low on funding; the total budget has to be increased. That particular maneuver isn't going to work this year, however, thanks to Pennsylvania Republican Pat Toomey and other conservatives. They decided to tie down one of the first spending bills with amendment after amendment until the spenders were forced to make concessions to them. The rest of the spending bills will now be considered on a schedule that will make the usual bait-and-switch impossible. That's not the only bad news for the spenders, either: Chris Cox, the California Republican, has gotten 150 of his colleagues to sign a letter pledging to back the president if he vetoes profligate spending bills. That's enough to sustain a veto. If the president wants to lead, he won't lack for followers.

■ Under the radar screen of most Americans, the Senate in mid July passed the Born-Alive Infants Protection Act, first discussed by Hadley Arkes in these pages in 1988. The bill enshrines in law the principle that a baby who survives an abortion is entitled to legal protection, i.e., not to be killed. As gruesome testimony on Capitol Hill made clear, that principle is sometimes violated in hospitals and abortion clinics. Debate over the bill could have put pro-abortion Democrats on the hot seat. But James Sensenbrenner, the Republican chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, did not want to cause too much of a fuss. So the findings of fact explaining the premises behind the bill were stripped from the legislation. It is left to the president, in a signing ceremony, to mark this milestone properly—and to give it the meaning the language of the legislation lacks: The U.S. will not stand for the evil of infanticide; the "right to abortion" does not establish an absolute right to a dead child.

■ California took a step toward reform of the marijuana laws when the state supreme court ruled that Proposition 215, the medical-marijuana initiative passed six years ago, allows anyone arrested for possessing or growing small amounts of pot to have the charges dismissed upon presenting a doctor's informal prescription. Federal courts, on up to the Supremes, have ruled that Proposition 215 does not cancel federal anti-pot laws, but most California pot cases end up in state courts. Britain, meanwhile, staggered toward reform of its marijuana laws when the Blair government announced that it would ignore smoking or possession of pot for "personal use," although it would step up prosecutions of dealers. The opposition Tories pointed out the inconsistency; their idea of consistency, however, is to clamp down on pot across the board. Decriminalization should not mean a saturnalia: When it comes to alcohol, states and localities forbid public consumption and sale to minors. When we realize that marijuana is harmful to some, useful to others, and a low-grade pleasure and a low-grade vice to most, then we can think intelligently about how to regulate it.

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Bush's Wall Street Reform Program Merits Support

Arnold Beichman is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

When a thief shoots and kills an innocent bystander or one Mafioso offs another Mafioso, the effect of such homicide is limited to the immediate family. But **when a corporate executive fiddles with the corporate books, millions of innocent people are affected**—people who were looking forward to retirement living on something better than Social Security.

Of course, there can be no guarantee of eternal profits and a forever bull market. You accept the stock market's verdict because you trust the numbers; you and your investment advisers trust the balance sheets, the income statement, and the listed assets. Millions of people go to Las Vegas every year even though the odds are against them because they half-trust the spinning roulette wheel or the blackjack dealer. Is it possible that the games in Vegas are more honest and more ethical than some of the stocks listed on the Big Board or the Nasdaq?

Working people and middle-class professionals have been encouraged to put their money in stocks and mutual funds so that one day they would enjoy the good life. According to the World Bank, more than 50 percent of Americans have invested in the stock market. Fareed Zakaria, in his book *From Wealth to Power,* says such investments have quadrupled in value in the last decade. In October 1999, the *Washington Post* ran a story about the stock market headlined "Investing's Changing Face: Women, Blacks, Hispanics and Others Are Reshaping Wall St." At that time nearly half of Americans were invested in the stock market, many of them between nineteen and thirty-five years old. Investing had become a mass movement in America. Will such participation continue?

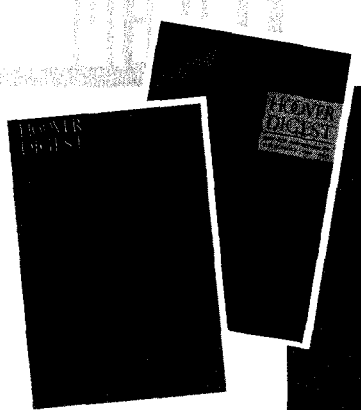
There's no point in saying there will always be crooks and suckers. True, most of American business is run honestly; dishonest CEOs and swindling accountants amount to only a handful. Yet look at how this handful has contributed to a meltdown affecting jobs, investment returns, and portfolios. That is why President Bush's reform program deserves support by Congress.

At the end of World War I, John Maynard Keynes wrote in his masterwork, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace:* "There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose."

Today, when millions and millions of Americans are investing their life savings in bonds and equities, we might update Keynes: **There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the securities market.** The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction and does so in such a conspiratorial manner that not one man in a million is able to diagnose what has happened until it is too late.

— Arnold Beichman

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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■ Israel says, in retrospect, it wouldn't have killed Hamas leader Sheik Salah Shehada with a precision-guided bomb had it known so many civilians would die in the attack. But Israel is confronted with such excruciating choices in the first place because terrorists, in violation of the rules of war, deliberately hide in areas where attacks on them will cause maximum collateral damage. That the likes of Salah Shehada don't wear uniforms, or otherwise separate themselves from civilian populations, shows that their contempt for the lives of innocents extends beyond Israelis to fellow Palestinians as well.

■ Sometimes it's hard to distinguish between the official Arab press and our own press. A recent editorial in the official Egyptian daily *Al-Akhbar* made a very familiar point about Colin Powell: "Matters are now in the hands of the most extreme Americans. . . . The hawks in Bush's administration, such as Cheney, Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, managed to overpower [Powell]. This gang managed to coerce poor Powell to change his mind. It forced him to go against all the advice of the professionals working in the American State Department on American policy in the Middle East, and to adapt himself to the philosophy of Bush's speech . . ." Two days before, *Al-Akhbar* had referred to Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Rice as, yes: "the axis of evil." And how about this, from *Al-Akhbar*'s July 5 editorial? "The Bush administration's foreign policy . . . contradicts many of the principles of the American constitution such as liberty, justice, democracy, and human rights. . . . If it wants to be rid of world terror, the U.S. must fight it from the point of departure of acknowledging its error in renouncing the principles and values on which its constitution was based . . ." Funny, we were wondering what Tony Lewis has been doing in his retirement: apparently writing editorials for *Al-Akhbar*.

■ The so-called "Irish Republican Army," one of the world's most vicious and amoral terrorist gangs, has issued a sort of apology for having murdered so many civilians—the official tally is 1,771—in its 30-year campaign against the United Kingdom. The apology is seen in Ireland as having been forced upon the IRA by a number of negative (for them) developments: the upcoming trials of IRA men accused of aiding insurgents in Colombia, the post–Sept. 11 revulsion against terrorism in any cause, rising Unionist disillusion with the 1998 Good Friday peace agreement, and a forthcoming book titled *A Secret History of the IRA*, which is said to contain full details of the part played by now-respectable politicians like Gerry Adams in the horrors of the early 1970s. The IRA apology is full of weasel words ("the acceptance of past mistakes . . .") and applies only to the killing of "non-combatants"—apparently excluding, for example, the over 300 members of Northern Ireland's police force murdered in IRA "operations." Nor does the apology address, nor even mention, the key issue that, it seems increasingly likely, will bring down the Good Friday agreement: the refusal of the IRA to disarm, or to cease acquiring new weapons, or to sever links with foreign terrorist groups. The lesson from Ireland is ever more clear: Terrorism cannot be accommodated, or excused, or dealt with. It can only be destroyed, root and branch. There is no substitute for victory.

■ Pro-lifers should be gratified by the Bush administration's decision to withhold $34 million earmarked for the United Nations Population Fund. Pro-life Republicans have long contended that the family-planning programs overseen by the U.N. tolerate forced sterilizations and forced abortions in China. The White House will now put the excised money toward international relief agencies under the State Department's aegis that operate population programs but are not involved in abortions. That this move is regarded, by Democrats and the media, as a sop to pro-life extremists is yet more evidence that the term "pro-choice" is a euphemism.

■ For those who lament the European tendency gladly to submit to almost any amount of nanny-state, socialist interference in their lives, some recent news from the Continent is heartening. It appears that EU parliamentarians may have finally overstepped their bounds by sticking their noses into the pints of bar-going Europeans. Specifically, Brussels bureaucrats are campaigning to abolish happy hours, which they claim encourage alcohol abuse and, still worse, pleasure. Some Europeans, particularly the Scots, are up in arms. Scottish MEP Struan Stevenson vowed, "I am determined to stop these killjoys from trying to disrupt our Scottish way of life." Pubs rely on the cut-price specials of happy hours to bring in customers. This is not the first time the EU has taken a shot at merriment (they have tried in the past to reduce noise levels in clubs and bars), and it certainly will not be the last. The campaign against happy hours suggests the problem with ceding power to supra-national bureaucracies: Policies that no locally accountable politician in his right mind would ever propose float down from on high, while those most affected find themselves battling a vast and largely unaccountable bureaucracy. We can only hope that Europeans will be more defensive of their pints than they have been of their tax dollars.

■ Pat Tillman, the former starting safety for the Arizona Cardinals who forsook his NFL contract to enlist in the Army in hopes of becoming a Ranger, puts commentators in a bind. We do not wish to say that the arts of war are always preferable to the arts of peace, for that way lies Sparta. We would not slight the other young men hoping to become Rangers, or already serving with them, fighting and dying in places like Afghanistan. Even to discuss the matter violates Tillman's wishes, for he has refused all interviews, evidently believing, with the Romans, that *res ipsa loquitur*—the thing speaks for itself. So we simply (the verb is appropriate) salute him.

■ Officer Jeremy Morse of Inglewood, Calif., has been indicted for assault after he was videotaped punching Donovan Jackson, a black 16-year-old he approached for driving with expired license plates. Jackson, Morse says, scratched him and grabbed his testicles. Morse should count his blessings:

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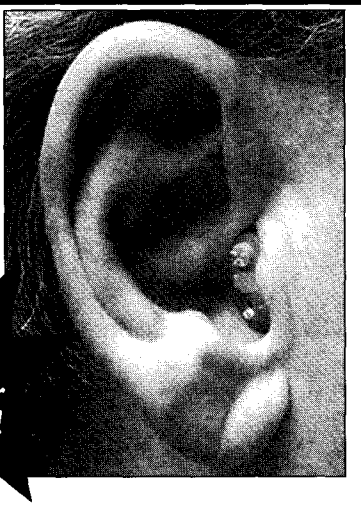

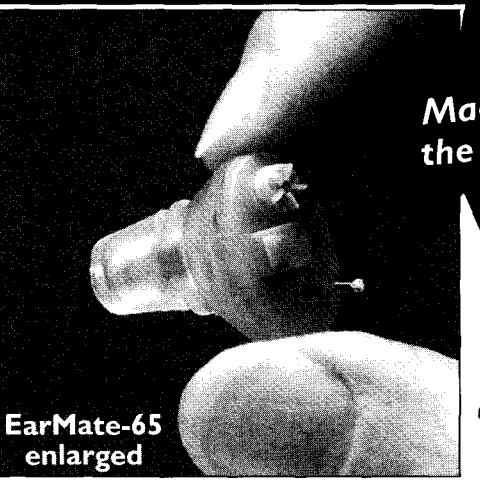

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Deputy sheriff Richard Herzog of King County, Wash., died when he tried to subdue Ronald Matthews, a black crack addict with a rap sheet a mile long. Matthews had been wandering naked in traffic and pounding on the door of a city bus, when Herzog tried to subdue him with pepper spray. Matthews however grabbed Herzog's gun and shot him four times in the head. The King County debacle suddenly freed police and elected officials to speak the truth. "We are sick and tired of being nitpicked about decisions we make every day," said Sheriff Dave Reichert. "We are sick and tired of being looked at as racists." "There's no question race probably had an inhibiting effect" on Herzog, said county executive Ron Sims, who is black. Inglewood can keep up the drumbeat, until it has its own Deputy Sheriff Herzog.

■ Joel Beinin, Stanford professor of Middle Eastern history and president of the Middle East Studies Association, is asking his colleagues to launch a PR campaign against three critics of their field: Martin Kramer, Daniel Pipes, and (National Review Online contributor) Stanley Kurtz. Beinin finds them guilty of "mean spirited, ad hominem, and spurious" attacks. He worries that Congress will cut funding for Middle East scholars. As well it should. The federal subsidies have funded: voluminous commentary blaming America and its policies for 9/11; a lobbying campaign to kill a program to recruit and educate intelligence officers; and the production of anti-American teacher-training materials. (K–12 students are to be instructed by people who have themselves been instructed by the likes of Edward Said and Arundhati Roy.) Beinin & Co. should be free to despise America all they want, and even to try to get kids to join them—but not at taxpayer expense.

■ A high point in the history of avant-garde music was reached in 1952, when pianist David Tudor, at a concert in Woodstock, N.Y., executed the first performance of John Cage's composition titled "4:33," carefully using a stopwatch. The "score" was blank: "4:33" consists of 4 minutes and 33 seconds of dead silence (in three movements). Now British composer Mike Batt is being accused of having plagiarized Cage's work. A best-selling album Batt has issued contains a track with the self-explanatory title "One Minute Silence." Ah, but it turns out that John Cage copyrighted "4:33" in 1960, and Cage's music publishers are now clamoring for royalties. Batt has hired lawyers and swears he will fight. His mum said to him, "Which part of the [Cage] silence are they claiming you nicked?"

■ Baron von Steuben did more for us, and Casimir Pulaski lost his life in the struggle, but of the foreigners who fought for the infant United States in the Revolution, the Marquis de Lafayette has always held a special place in American hearts, on account of his youth (he was 19 when he arrived), his generosity (he spent almost a million dollars of his own money on the cause), and his uncomplicated ardor for liberty. Lafayette's long post-American career had many ups and downs; his record in the French Revolution was mixed. We got the best of him, and it was very fine indeed. There is a bill before Congress to grant him citizenship posthumously. No one deserves it more.

■ Alan Lomax, the tireless folksong collector who died at 87, was a textbook case of the baleful influence of ideology, and the unconscious escape from it. Lomax sang for Henry Wallace in 1948, along with Paul Robeson and Pete Seeger. But his politics also infected his musicology. The only sin of critical interpretation he did not commit was Crow Jim—the belief that all American "soul" is black; Lomax's Old Left roots inoculated him against that. But the commentary he wrote for his collection *The Folk Songs of North America* is jaw-dropping in its tendentiousness. All the songs about Heaven, death, and betrayed lovers—which is to say, most of the songs—are either displaced plaints of the underclass, or symptoms of delusion and social dysfunction. Yet this windy axe-grinder also loved his music, tirelessly hunting down and preserving the ballads and spirituals that he, in explaining, explained away. He famously discovered Leadbelly and Muddy Waters, and recorded Woody Guthrie and the reminiscences of Jelly Roll Morton. As great as these services was his preservation of a texture of performance, which inspired generations of British and American pop musicians (though they rarely matched their models). A warped mind, a great pair of ears. R.I.P.

■ Who defeated Communism? Ronald Reagan and John Paul II of course played large roles. But braver than they (for presidents and popes command legions) were the handful of dissidents, who lived in the belly of the beast and took it on alone. Aleksandr Ginzburg, who died at 65, was a poet. Though he was a Russian Orthodox believer, he took his Jewish mother's name to protest late-Stalinist anti-Semitism. Under Khrushchev he wrote the first *samizdat*, a typewritten magazine of protest. Under Brezhnev he was part of Helsinki Watch, a group monitoring compliance with the human-rights commitments that the regime had cynically made. Ginzburg was arrested three times. At his last trial, he told his judge that he had been born in the Gulag Archipelago, and that his nationality was *zek* (prisoner). The Carter adminis-

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What potholes lie ahead?

—W. H. von Dreele

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tration arranged to spring him from the eight-year sentence he earned with those effronteries. His partner in dissent, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, argued that Communism must finally give way once people began to speak the truth. Ginzburg spoke truth to some of the greatest jailers in history; amazingly, their empire died before he did. R.I.P.

THE ECONOMY

Bear Up

PRESIDENT BUSH has come under a lot of criticism for his handling of the corporate scandals and the bear market, some of it in these pages. But any criticism should be tempered with an understanding of the limits of presidential power. When earnings are down, as they have been over the last five quarters, stock prices are going to go down too. They will decline whether the president endorses regulations or laissez-faire; whether his advisers and spokesmen are admired or ridiculed; whether his speeches are uplifting or pedestrian. Bush is faulted, in some quarters, for failing to "restore confidence" in the markets. If "restoring confidence" consists of getting people to bid the price of shares up when earnings are down, we should be glad the president is not doing it. Such critics wish the president could start a new bubble.

President Bush's role in the bear market is being exaggerated; so is the potential political damage he can sustain from it. The pundits speculate that Bush will now have trouble getting re-elected and say that he is repeating the mistakes of his father. If the bear market lasts through 2003, maybe they're right. But there is no reason to bet that it will, especially as the economy, by common consent, is showing signs of gathering strength.

The real danger to Bush is not that the stock-market decline will hurt him in 2004; it's that it will hurt his fellow Republicans this fall, and thus indirectly reduce his chances of being a successful president. The president may not be able to do much about that. But—and here he can take an actual lesson from his father's record—he needs to be seen to be trying.

Republicans have not had a coherent economic agenda since the late 1980s. In the mid '90s, they put their faith in deficit reduction and tax credits for children: both worthy policies, but neither connected to economic growth. As a candidate for president, George W. Bush advanced a tax cut designed more to return the surplus to taxpayers than to increase incentives to work, save, and invest. That may have made sense, given that Bush was campaigning in a time when people felt prosperous. When recession came, however, he should have asked for tax cuts that were more growth-oriented. Instead, his advisers simply put a new economic gloss on the same proposals.

So the Republicans have been left dangerously dependent on luck. They had to hope that the economy and the market would recover by themselves, or with the help of a tax cut that was not really designed for the purpose. The result has been a policy paralysis that extends across the board. The administration has been content to watch from the sidelines, for example, as the tech sector has fallen into a regulation-induced depression. So far, Republicans' luck has been mixed. There is, to start with, that good economic news.

There is also the cluelessness of the Democrats to buoy them. The Democrats believe—most of them really do believe—that repealing Bush's tax cut, and thus in effect raising taxes, would help the economy. The debate among Democrats is whether it is politic to say so. The market slide, the corporate scandals, and the political hysteria surrounding both are tempting them in the direction of boldness. If Democrats start to indulge in anti-business and anti-wealth rhetoric, they will be overreaching.

But Republicans will not be able to make that point if they are too busy running away from their anti-regulatory principles. They ought to start defending those principles and, more than that, promoting an agenda consistent with them. That will be hard work, to be sure; but hard work is often called for when luck falls short.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Express Deception

GEORGE W. BUSH's promise to bring a straightforward, truth-telling attitude to Washington apparently never registered at the State Department.

When NATIONAL REVIEW published an embarrassing story about the department, its response was to launch an extraordinary campaign of public deception. Joel Mowbray exposed a program that the department had created for the benefit of Saudi visa applicants. "Visa Express" allowed Saudis to submit their applications to travel agents, who would then pass them to State's consular officers. These officers generally rubber-stamped the applications without laying eyes on the applicants. Thanks to the program, three of the September 11 hijackers entered the U.S. without an interview. Even after, Visa Express remained in place.

In June, as Mowbray's story was breaking, State Department official Dianne Andruch told Congress that the program had been ended. In fact, only its name had been changed. On Fox News, State's Consular Affairs spokesman Ed Vazquez attacked Mowbray personally: "Every word that [he] writes is a lie, including 'the' and 'and.'" But Vazquez could offer no evidence of such thoroughgoing dishonesty, or any dishonesty at all. "We reserve the right," Vazquez offered by way of a rebuttal to Mowbray's reporting, "to interview a high percentage of people who come in in Saudi Arabia." That's nice, but reserving the right to interview applicants is different from actually doing so. According to an inspector-general report, from June to September 2001, State interviewed only 3 percent of Saudi visa applicants.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher then personally led a misleading campaign against Mowbray's work from his briefing podium. Boucher claimed that Mowbray had incorrectly reported that travel agents approved visa applica-

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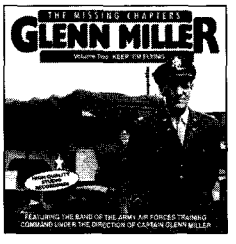

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tions themselves—when Mowbray clearly wrote that the travel agents passed applications along to consular officials. He claimed that Mowbray reported that only Saudi Arabia had a Visa Express-type program, when he really reported that other (actually friendly) countries like Japan have similar arrangements. With pressure from Congress building, State suddenly reversed field and fired the head of Consular Affairs, Visa Express-booster Mary Ryan. Then, in typical fashion, State denied she had been fired at all, maintaining that her abrupt "retirement" had nothing to do with Visa Express.

How could it, after all, if Visa Express didn't even exist? But a government whistleblower leaked to Mowbray a confidential cable from the ambassador to Saudi Arabia—written the very day of Ryan's dismissal—asking to terminate Visa Express and to interview all Saudi applicants. Boucher told the press that the memo from Riyadh only asked for more resources. Asked point-blank at a press briefing by Mowbray whether our ambassador had asked to terminate the program, Boucher said, "No." Never mind that the subject line of the memo was "Request for Guidance on Termination of Visa Express." When Mowbray stated that he had the memo in hand, and so knew that Boucher was fibbing, State Department security officials briefly detained him and demanded that he reveal his source.

So it goes at a Department of State populated by careerists like Boucher, who would be just as comfortable—no, more comfortable—if he were still working for Warren Christopher. Congress is now engaged in a debate over whether State should keep the visa-issuance power, an important national-security matter since terrorists get into this country primarily through visas. State's record in creating and then defending Visa Express proves it unfit for the task, which should go to the Department of Homeland Security or an entirely new, more national-security-conscious agency.

Boucher at one point attacked Mowbray for supposedly reporting that visa applicants are presumed eligible to enter the U.S. Mowbray actually hadn't written that—but it is worse than he knew. High-level Colin Powell aide Richard Armitage recently wrote a memo to the Justice Department explaining that State Department regulations say, "If there are no grounds under the law on which to deny an alien a visa, the consular officer is required to issue the visa." In other words, applicants are presumed eligible. Just as Boucher, typically, *didn't* tell us. Maybe it's naïve to expect government spokesmen not to deceive the public. If so, call us naïfs—the State Department's conduct in the visa controversy has been shocking, and unworthy of the Bush administration.

CLONING

A Report and Its Lessons

THE president's bioethics council, headed by Leon Kass, recommended a ban on the cloning of human embryos to produce babies and a four-year moratorium on cloning for biomedical research. Since the recommendation falls short of the president's call for a permanent ban on all human cloning, some reporters greeted the report as an embarrassment to the president. But it does not seem possible to get such a ban through the Senate, as presently constituted. The practical effect of the report is to build support for a moratorium, which is still in play.

The report helped to clarify the debate by avoiding the distorted terminology that cloning supporters have preferred to use. In the media and on the floor of Congress, cloning supporters have maintained that a cloned human embryo is neither a clone, nor human, nor an embryo. On the council, however, with a few exceptions, even the supporters of cloning avoided doublespeak. The report was honest in another important respect as well. Biotech lobbyists claim that the promise of cloning is that it will provide transplantable tissue. There will be no danger of rejection, since the tissue will be taken from the clone of a patient. The council—again, including the pro-cloning minority on it—does not pretend that the primary purpose of cloning is therapeutic. Those who defend cloning do so on the ground that it will enable scientists to build "disease models" by watching the progress of a disease in the cloned embryos. Whether lobbyists and senators are willing to defend this project to congressmen remains to be seen.

The pro-cloning councilmembers performed another service, too, albeit an inadvertent one: They demonstrated the weakness of the arguments for considering it morally permissible to destroy embryonic human beings in the process of research. Several of these dissenting council members claimed that the high rates of spontaneous abortion make it foolish to treat embryos in the earliest stages of development as living human beings. But this is a clear non sequitur. If it were valid, it would establish that in any time or place where infant mortality rates were sufficiently high, it would be morally permissible to kill infants.

Often this argument was supplemented with an appeal to moral sentiments. Our friend James Q. Wilson, for example, argued that we should be guided by the fact that we grieve more at the death of a newborn than at the death of an embryo. But we may grieve more at the death of a twelve-year-old than at the death of a newborn. Whether it is licit to kill either one of them does not, in any case, depend on how anyone feels toward him.

Other dissenters thought that an embryo could not be said to exist as long as twinning remained possible. This, too, is sophistry. Cloning can, in theory, create an embryo genetically identical to any one of us—can provide us, so to speak, with a twin. This possibility does not mean that we are not individual organisms. A flatworm is a flatworm even if it can be split into two flatworms.

The most compelling argument that the dissenters mounted was that an embryo lacks a nervous system, consciousness, and the capacity for suffering, and that it is these attributes that confer people with the right to be treated with concern and respect, including the right not to be killed for the possible benefit of others. But if rights depend on consciousness, why should newborn infants or

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the comatose be protected? Why, for that matter, protect people who are sleeping? They could be killed in a painless manner, with no suffering involved.

Implicitly or explicitly, proponents of cloning believe that our rights depend on our having certain traits, such as mental functions. Since these traits come in varying degrees (and well after birth), it is hard to see how the pro-cloning view can be made consistent with the basic American belief that people are equal in dignity and rights. If, on the other hand, human beings are intrinsically valuable—if they deserve protection from harm merely by virtue of being human beings, and not because of any additional traits they may or may not have—then they must have worth and deserve protection regardless of their size, age, or stage of development.

That conclusion imposes certain obligations on political leaders and on citizens. It requires them to work toward a ban on practices that violate the principle that all human life should be protected—including the destruction of cloned human embryos in research. The president's council is right: Congress should enact a moratorium on human cloning this year. But the president himself is even more right: Eventually, Congress should ban the practice altogether.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Bill: Re: your column on pain (NR, June 3): Studies have been done quantifying the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to. Using thermocouples to establish energy expended from needed metabolic response, a hierarchy of painful stimuli from disease processes has been estimated, idiosyncrasy notwithstanding.

The worst affliction of mankind (*sic*) is childbirth. Second is the passage of kidney stones. Third, the inevitable impingement of pancreatic cancer on the solar plexus of nerves. And so on down the line to toothache and tendonitis. When pain seems worthwhile, as in childbed, it is soon forgotten, even worth repeating. You are getting something out of it, an ambiance hard to confer when you are merely headsore from quadratic equations.

One thing I know as a physician. People can stand almost anything: dizzy spells, rash, insomnia, family feuds, gas, hearing loss, spots before the eyes, irascible mothers-in-law, numbness and tingling, emotional constipation, even liberals for neighbors. But when there is pain your phone will ring night and day.

May you never be, as I, so afflicted.

Jim
[James C. Neely, M.D.]
Napa, Calif.

Dear Jim: I feel your pain. (This is not said sarcastically.)

Best, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Regarding Philip Kennedy's letter (June 17), asking whether East Coasters say "take a decision": I've never heard anyone in the U.S. (East, West, or Middle) say it this way.

But Winston Churchill used this expression in his history of the Second World War, e.g., in *The Gathering Storm*: "I had, however, no power to take or enforce decisions."

I gather that it must be a Britishism.

Paul Dwiggins
Marlborough, Mass.

Dear Mr. Buckley: You respond to a letter-writer saying you "can't remember hearing about somebody 'taking a decision.'"

Oh, Sir! Surely you know that to "take" a decision is how the British say that, rather than to "make" a decision as we say over here.

In any event, you're quite right to suggest detaining offenders and deporting them to California. That's the only fitting remedy for Americans who ape British speech.

John S. Mason Jr.
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Mr. Buckley: The English regularly refer to "taking," not "making," a decision.

Of course, they also say a lot of other funny things. Perhaps we should be charitable and remember that English is an English language too.

Christopher Smith
Warsaw, Poland

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Okay, okay, so my husband and I are fans of yours. We watched *Firing Line* from its inception, we have eleven of your books (and one of Christopher's), and we subscribe to NR. In reference to the last, I confess I always read the magazine back-to-front, as Miss King is a personal favorite, even though this means I read "On the Right" second.

We recently returned from a trip to Australia, where we took with us a guidebook from the *Lonely Planet* series, in which we found the enclosed. I realize this is probably the 1,738th copy you have received, but that's the price one pays for fame.

I doubt you were named after *this* William Buckley, but I confess to being in a quandary as to which of you has lived the more interesting life!

Cordially,
Carol Thixton
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Mrs. Thixton: Thank you for the portrait from the 1886 *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, and the excerpt from the *Lonely Planet* guidebook section on the Bellarine Peninsula, giving the life of William Buckley (1780–1856), who lived for 32 years with the Koori tribe in Tasmania, who thought him a god.

I have never had that problem, but I am very pleased that you are catching up on my books.

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ COVER STORY ■

Save the Investors—and Yourselves

Some political/economic advice for the GOP

RAMESH PONNURU

INVESTORS are confused and angry these days, upset that their good fortune has proved temporary. Republican congressmen are in a similar mood. They thought that the president's popularity would help them this November. They knew that investors were unhappy about the corporate scandals, but they figured that they had adequately responded to that sentiment in April, when the House passed an accounting-reform bill. But the stock market has kept falling, and so has the percentage of Americans who, in polls, say that the country is "on the right track."

So now the Republicans are nervous. Paul Ryan, a GOP House member from Wisconsin, says that his colleagues think that the scandals "could wreak a lot of damage" and are therefore in a "rush to stampede over each other to get something into law." Some Republicans are grumbling that President Bush didn't take an early lead on corporate reform and has not been able to reassure the financial markets. As to what Bush should do now, however, these folks generally don't have much advice.

Some Republicans seem not to understand the first, most obvious lesson of the corporate scandals: The investor class matters. Roy Blunt, a leading House Republican, downplayed the significance of Wall Street's slide on *Crossfire*: "The stock market doesn't measure the economy." Twenty years ago, when only a fifth of American households held stock, a politician could get away with shrugging off a bear market that way. When over three-fifths of voters have investments in stocks, however, the markets are politically important in their own right. When people are losing substantial portions of their retirement assets, it is no consolation to tell them that the economy is growing and unemployment is low.

In the late 1990s, Republicans became persuaded that the millions of Americans who were entering the capital markets would be a natural constituency for them. They had evidence to back this view. But Republicans neglected the task of organizing these voters or appealing to their interests. The initial Bush tax-cut plan included no provisions to expand 401(k)s, for example. (Congress added them later.) A recent briefing by top White House political aides on the constituencies the administration is courting—a briefing that was leaked to the media—didn't even mention investors.

When the corporate scandals broke, Democrats and the media were quick to tell investors that they ought to want more regulation and that Republicans were the party of corrupt corporate executives, not small investors. Republicans had not spent the previous years defining themselves as the party of investors or defining investors' interests in free-market terms. Nor had they created grassroots organizations to represent investors. If they had, they would have been in a better position both to fend off regulatory legislation and to mitigate the political damage from the scandals.

Pollster John Zogby says that investors are the key swing group in this year's elections. They had favored Republicans by a ten-point margin in the past, but they are now expressing only a slight preference for them. Since non-investors are heavily Democratic, that's bad news for the GOP.

Why are investors in a foul mood? It's not just the corporate scandals. It's their interaction with the bear market. When people's portfolios are rising, they find news about corporate fraud a lot less annoying; indeed, they take less interest in it. When the market is tanking, the idea that CEOs have been ripping off shareholders adds insult to injury. And when people get it into their heads that the reason the market is tanking is that the CEOs have been ripping off shareholders, they are understandably furious.

The prevailing assumption in Washington has been that the markets are waiting for Congress to enact, and the president to sign, regulations that would deter corporate fraud. These regulations would increase investor confidence and get the markets rising again. But if the markets are depressed for other reasons—because of weak earnings, or the administration's tariffs, or its apparent weak-dollar policy, or the generally anti-business political climate—all these regulations will fail to revive them and may even demoralize them further. In that case, voters will still see their savings shrink and still be angry.

Conversely, some policies that do not directly address corporate fraud may improve the health of the markets and reduce voters' anger. If Bush were to get behind deregulation of broadband, for example, telecommunications stocks might revive. If he were to index capital-gains taxes for inflation (a reform that some authorities believe he has the legal right to make unilaterally), stock prices could be expected to rise in all sectors.

Most Republican officials regard such an agenda as otherworldly in the current

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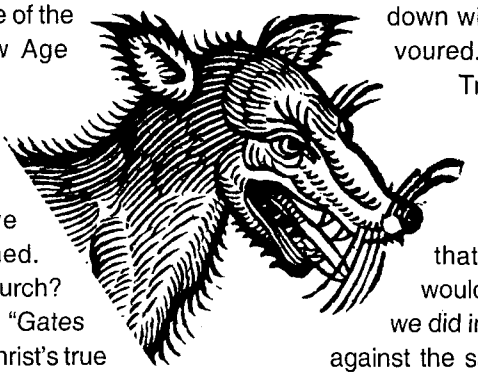
The Wolf Inside The Catholic Church

If Catholics want to see what the Catholic Church would look like if liberal Catholics get their way, all they need do is look at the Episcopal Church, which incarnates the wish list of liberal Catholics: approval of shacking-up, abortion, and homosexual unions; priestesses and out-of-the-closet homosexual priests; junking the doctrine of the Indissolubility of Marriage; New Age (neo-pagan) rituals; etc.



If in, say, 1970 you asked if all of this could happen in the staid Episcopal Church, almost every Episcopalian would have said, "Never!" Alas, it's happened. Could it happen in the Catholic Church? We Catholics have faith that the "Gates of Hell" will never prevail against Christ's true Church, but they could prevail in, say, the U.S. and Europe, just as they prevailed in North Africa.

Sadly, the same type of liberal Christians who run the Episcopal Church can be found in the Catholic Church in the U.S. The "middle management" of the U.S. Church is riddled with dissenters.

How should loyal Catholics relate to such people? Should we seek common ground with them? Dialogue with them? In the Episcopal Church over the past decades there were many fine Christians who took this falsely charitable approach. They said, let's talk with these earnest, if somewhat loosey-goosey Episcopalians. And, you know, pretty soon those fine, kind-hearted Christians weakened under the pressure of the *Zeitgeist*. And then they were devoured.

There's a huge lesson for Catholics to learn here: You just can't pow-wow with liberal Catholics, because they come to any negotiating table from a position of massive strength. They don't just represent themselves. They're of the same ilk that overran the Episcopal Church and numerous other Protestant denominations. And they have the full force of secular Western culture — the *Zeitgeist* — behind them. In this world, when the lambs lie down with the wolves, the lambs are devoured.

Trust us! We've seen it happen. Our magazine, the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, started out in the Episcopalian (or Anglican) tradition.

In 1981 *Newsweek* predicted that, like John Henry Newman, we would become Roman Catholic, which we did in 1983. And now we must contend against the same dark forces that prevailed in the Episcopal Church, but now in the Catholic Church. And if you're an orthodox Catholic, *so must you!*

The Holy Father can't solve our problems for us all by himself. We must all do our part. One way to get into the action is to read the NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Published monthly, we analyze all the challenges facing the Church — sometimes in depth, sometimes with dismissive satire, but always with clarity and forcefulness. We don't dialogue with dissenters — we annihilate them (intellectually only, of course).

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anti-business, anti-market environment. Instead, they are contributing to that environment. They are not pointing out that the stock market is being depressed not only by lack of confidence in corporate executives, but also by fear of a regulatory overreaction by Washington. They are not vowing to resist such an overreaction. They are saying, rather, that the House Republicans passed regulations faster than the Senate Democrats did, and hoping that voters will buy this counter-intuitive spin.

■

Republicans must find a way to be against abusive managements but pro-investor.

■

Republicans are trying to show voters that they are just as anti-Big Business as the Democrats. It won't work. As former congressman Vin Weber, a Republican, says, "There is a deep-seated impression that we're the party of business. The notion that we are, in the middle of a corporate crisis, going to convince people that the Republicans are going to be tough on business is just bizarre." But the political demand of the moment is not that politicians be "anti-business" anyway. It's that they be pro-investor.

Republicans must find a way to be against abusive managements but pro-investor. They should tell investors that they are for reforms that punish errant CEOs but against "reforms" that punish *them*. Perhaps Republicans could propose to eliminate legal restrictions on hostile takeovers. Takeovers, and the threat of takeovers, are a way of asserting investors' interests over those of possibly self-serving managements. Congressman Ryan is considering introducing a bill to bring takeovers back.

Or Republicans could suggest cutting taxes on corporate dividends. By discouraging dividends, tax policy has encouraged companies to retain too much of their profits and, sometimes, to spend this money on excessive compensation packages for executives. Dividends are an important signal that a company's earnings are real. Suppressing that signal has made fraud easier. Democrats would, of course, say a dividend tax cut was a tax cut "for the rich"—although rich people do not, as a rule, invest for dividend streams—but so what? Investors aren't hostile to rich people. They're mad at fraudulent CEOs.

If they do not advance distinctively conservative answers to the corporate scandals, Republicans will condemn themselves to play defense for several months. But if they are unwilling to reconsider their legislative strategy, they should at least reconsider their rhetoric. On July 15, President Bush said that America "must get rid of the hangover that we now have as a result of the binge, the economic binge we just went through." A few days before, a Treasury official had said that stocks were still overvalued.

Bush's remarks are, in part, a too-cute way of blaming the bear market on his predecessor while not saying his name. But it is not true that the entire boom of the 1990s was an illusion. Yes, some sectors of the economy seem to have floated free from reality. It also appears that Alan Greenspan, in following an easy-money policy to avoid Y2K disruptions, inflated the stock markets between late 1998 and early 2000. But these are footnotes. The 1990s saw real gains in productivity, real technological advances, and real wealth creation.

Millions of Americans started to invest in the stock market over the last decade, and started to move rightward politically as a result. Even now, more Americans favor a reform of Social Security based on individual investment than oppose it. Does it really make sense for the Republican party to tell these people that their experience of capitalism has been a fraud and a lie? **NR**

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■ **COVER STORY II** ■

Taming the Bear

Confront him boldly, or he will devour you

LAWRENCE KUDLOW & STEPHEN MOORE

THE administration of George W. Bush has not exactly covered itself in glory on the economy. In fact, most of the administration's policies in the first half of 2002 have done more harm than good: the disgraceful farm bill, the steel tariffs, the timber quotas, the emergency anti-terrorism spending bill (which quickly became the gift that kept on giving for special-interest groups), and the decision to refinance failed foreign-aid programs (the result of the Treasury secretary's trip to Africa with one-named rock singer Bono).

Meanwhile, the Republicans in Congress are just as ideologically adrift. In the middle of the stock-market crisis of recent weeks, House GOP-ers were busy passing a $350 billion prescription-drug-benefit giveaway to seniors. For the record, this would be the most expensive new entitlement program since LBJ launched the Great Society in the 1960s. (The Democrats immediately dismissed the GOP plan as meager and proposed a $1 trillion drug plan of their own.) These plans will surely lead to price controls, higher payroll taxes, or both.

Spending money is unmistakably an art form in this Congress: The budget is expected to rise by as much as 15 percent this year, on top of the 11 percent rise last year—a combined total that exceeds what Bill Clinton spent in his first five years in office. Only a few bud-

Mr. Kudlow is CEO of Kudlow & Co. and co-host of CNBC's *Kudlow & Cramer*. Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth. Both are contributing editors of NR.

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get hawks in the House—led by John Shadegg and Jeff Flake of Arizona and Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania—are making any effort to handcuff the profligate congressional appropriators.

The congressional response to the corporate-accounting scandals hasn't steadied investor-class jitters much either. Just the opposite, in fact. What started as a crusade for tougher anti-fraud penalties and sensible accounting regulations has evolved, in tone, into something resembling a lynch mob. Now our congressmen are Big Business bashers, and their ultimate aim appears to be to stifle the golden goose of free-market capitalism that created $32 trillion of new wealth in the 1980s and '90s. Clamping down on corporate criminals is fine, but that needs to be combined with a positive agenda of growth-oriented tax cuts, deregulation, and free-trade policies. No one in the White House or on Capitol Hill has made this case.

None of our elected officials wants to confront the reality that—notwithstanding all of the corporate scandals—Washington is itself an enormous part of the economic problem. The policy environment is uniformly bearish. In fact, a strong case can be made that when you roll together all the bad laws that have been enacted on Capitol Hill this year, Congress has been a greater depressant to the stock market than all of the corporate crooks at Enron, WorldCom, and Arthur Andersen combined.

The only person capable of changing the tone of the political/economic discussion in Washington and helping to reverse the financial-market malaise is President Bush. With each passing day that the stock market melts down further, his economic team insists that the White House economic agenda does not need fixing. They are dangerously wrong. These are the steps that we would advise.

First, Bush should appoint an economic guru with credibility on Wall Street to lead the policy agenda back in a sensible direction. No such person exists in the administration right now to carry this off. Our first choice for such a position would be Steve Forbes. Retiring House majority leader Dick Armey of Texas would be another smart pick. Both have impeccable economic credentials. They're unabashed supply-siders, which are scarce in the administration right now. In addition, a panel of outside economic advisers could provide fresh perspectives and sound policy recommendations to the president.

Second, Bush should announce that he will rescind his 30 percent steel tariffs on January 1, 2003. The tariffs were a bad economic and political miscalculation by the White House: Steel prices have skyrocketed over the past three months and the free-trade agenda is frozen in place. There is mounting evidence that the steel tariffs have cost America more jobs than they have saved. The president can undo these tariffs unilaterally.

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The policy environment in Washington is uniformly bearish.

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Third, the Bush tax cuts of 2001 should be fast-forwarded to take effect immediately. As it stands now, it will be 2010 before the tax cuts take full effect—which in political terms is eons away. The big supply-side adrenaline surge from the Bush tax cuts won't occur until around 2005 and thereafter. Even so, the Daschle Democrats say the tax cuts have failed. The truth is that the Bush tax cuts have hardly taken effect: The top income-tax rate has been reduced by only one percentage point, thanks to the anti-tax cutters in the Democratic leadership who insisted on a gradual phase-in of the tax cuts. The president should call for immediate reduction of the top income-tax rate (from 39 to 35 percent, for a start) and termination of the estate tax, which, through a freakish accident in the tax bill, will actually be increased from 2003 to 2005 in almost half the states.

Finally, the administration should devise a tax-reduction plan specifically aimed at investors. One sound proposal, put forth by economist Richard Rahn of the Cato Institute, is to combine tax-free dividends with a prospective cut in the capital-gains tax to 10 percent for purchases of stock after July 1, 2002. We should also consider a turnover approach to capital-gains taxation: If a stock sale is soon reinvested, it shouldn't be treated as a taxable event. By unlocking prior gains (the S&P 500 is still nearly double its early 1995 level) and increasing the after-tax value of stocks, this would re-liquefy and rally the market almost instantly.

White House politicos fret that further tax cuts are a political non-starter at a time of growing budget deficits. Nonsense. Tax revenues are growing slowly not because taxes have been cut too much, but because of insufficient economic growth to generate the tax receipts to balance the budget. To paraphrase President Kennedy in 1963: Without economic growth, there will never be enough revenues to balance the budget. If Bush can put the economy back on a sustained 3–4 percent growth path, the budget will quickly rebalance itself. Meanwhile, the Treasury Department should rack up a study on the dynamic revenue effects of tax cuts, a subject with ample academic backing.

The GOP Hill leadership could likely peel off enough Democratic votes to enact an anti-recession tax-cut measure. It would force pro-tax-cut Senate Democrats in tight races this year—Carnahan of Missouri, Johnson of South Dakota, and Baucus of Montana—to respond to the proposal of fast-forwarding tax cuts. After all, if lower tax rates make sense for 2006, why don't they make sense now with the economy wobbling along? And how will they justify voting against investor-class Americans on issues like capital-gains cuts when stockowners now constitute close to 60 percent of the electorate? Either way, Republicans win.

Theodore Roosevelt once said about bear markets that "when the average man loses his money, he is simply like a wounded snake and strikes right and left at anything, innocent or the reverse." Well, the average American is losing his money—lots of it, in fact—and if the losses continue, he will lash out. If the Republicans don't develop a message of growth and prosperity, they will be the not-so-innocent targets. A sinking stock market this fall could bury GOP prospects for regaining the Senate and holding the House. **NR**

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■ CAPITOL HILL ■

Sen. Skeptic (R., France)

Chuck Hagel is Bush's #1 war critic in Congress

JOHN J. MILLER

REPUBLICANS wouldn't have let a Democrat get away with the finger-wagging lecture Sen. Chuck Hagel delivered to Secretary of State Colin Powell last February. "Words have meaning. Symbols have meaning," warned Hagel at a Foreign Relations Committee hearing. He accused the Bush administration of harboring "a cavalier attitude" toward the rest of the world. The "folly in the conduct" of the Vietnam War had "destroyed" the presidency of Lyndon Johnson—and the same sorry fate could befall Bush. "This is serious business," Hagel told Powell. "We have to be very careful here what we're doing."

The Nebraska Republican was worked up about President Bush's State of the Union speech, specifically its most memorable line: "States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil." Hagel regarded this as "name-calling." In May, he went a bit further: "Our potential to lead the world at such a critical time in history calls for creativity, boldness, and vision rather than nostalgia and dividing the world into simplistic categories."

Tom Daschle's own criticism of Bush's "axis of evil" phrase was much gentler: "We've got to be very careful with rhetoric of that kind." Yet those words practically got Daschle accused of treachery, and he took them back almost at once. As a Republican, however, Hagel is immune to charges of partisanship. His assessment of Bush is therefore more *interesting*. He's become a fixture on the political talk shows, urging "caution" on the president—especially if the subject is an invasion of Iraq. Today Hagel is the Bush administration's most outspoken war critic in Congress.

Which isn't to say he's its sharpest critic. His speeches are littered with what might be called Hagelian dialect: declamations that may sound weighty when spoken but become insubstantial on the printed page. "We cannot shrink from the reality before us," Hagel told the Council on Foreign Relations in April. "We have no option but to lead," he said in a speech to the Senate a few days earlier. When he actually talks substance, he's prone to self-contradiction. On Fox News in March, he said that Saddam Hussein "is a threat to the stability of the Middle East. He represents a threat to the United States. That issue, I think, we can all agree on." Two months later, however, Hagel himself seemed to disagree. Asked by *Time* magazine whether anything should be done about Iraq, he replied, "How urgent is the threat?"

Unlike most of his colleagues, the 55-year-old Hagel does know something about war firsthand. He volunteered for service in Vietnam, where he earned two Purple Hearts. Later he worked as a radio newsman, an aide to Republican congressman John McCollister of Nebraska, and a lobbyist for Firestone. He held a few jobs in government during the Reagan years, and also co-founded Vanguard Cellular, a telecommunications company that made him a millionaire. In 1996, Hagel won election to the Senate by beating Ben Nelson, a popular governor who had been considered the favorite.

Chuck Hagel by Roman Genn

On most domestic issues, Hagel is a reliable conservative: pro-life, pro-gun, pro-tax relief. He even voted against this year's bloated farm bill. But his primary interests lie elsewhere: On joining the Senate, Hagel sought out and secured a spot on the Foreign Relations Committee—not exactly a hot property at the time. He started speaking on international issues and quickly earned a reputation for thoughtfulness. "That was partly because nobody else was saying much," comments Gary Schmitt of the Project for the New American Century. "He spoke into a vacuum."

Hagel is often compared to John McCain, the man he supported in the 2000 primaries. McCain, however, has been a strong advocate of American power around the globe, including regime change in Iraq. Hagel is much more apprehensive. "He reacts to everything like a European," says a Senate colleague.

In other words, Hagel is a skeptic on U.S. force. "America must be about enhancing its relationships in the world, not just its power," he said in April. It's not that he isn't willing to unleash the military (he was an early backer of action against Serbia, for instance), but he believes everything must be done in consultation with other countries and with the approval of international organizations. "We are the greatest power that the world has ever known," he said on the Senate floor in April. "But we have limits, too. And these coalitions for peace, coalitions for change will be our future, the world's future."

This type of thinking puts Hagel within a long Republican tradition of internationalism that stretches back to Arthur Vandenberg. It has also encouraged him to break with conservatives on a variety of national-security issues. He has joined with Vermont Democrat Patrick Leahy in pushing for a ban on land mines—something the Pentagon fiercely opposes and that even the Clinton administration wouldn't stomach. In 1997, he helped move the treaty banning chemical weapons to passage.

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When Republican leader Trent Lott came under fire from conservatives on the issue, Hagel jotted him a short note: "Don't let the ankle-biters get you down." Lott said these communications helped sway him to support the treaty. In 1999, Hagel technically did oppose the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty—but not before trying to scuttle a vote on it. Just prior to the roll call, he signed a letter to table the treaty—a ploy that supporters were advocating as a last-ditch measure to keep the treaty alive for a more amenable Senate.

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There's nothing Hagel likes less than talking about right and wrong in the context of foreign policy.

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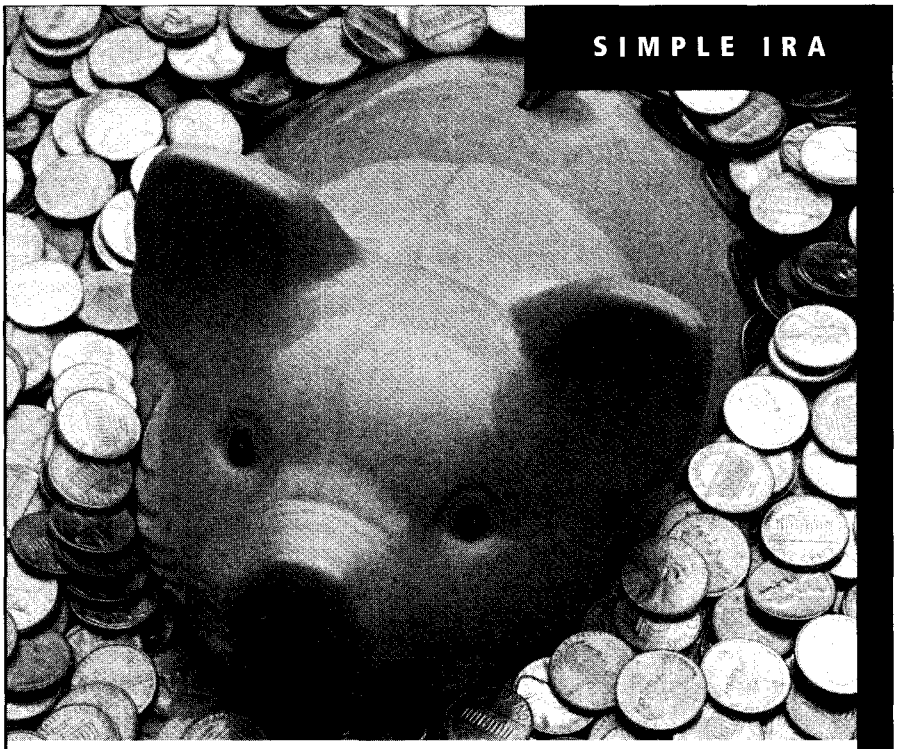
For a time, Hagel was one of Lott's favorites. The honeymoon ended abruptly in 1998, however, after Hagel lit into Lott and the Senate leadership for approving the enormous spending increases in budget negotiations that fall. They felt that Hagel might at least have acknowledged his own role in driving costs upward, because he had pressed successfully for an $18 billion bailout package for the International Monetary Fund. The Nebraskan spoke of challenging Lott for the majority-leader post, but wound up instead taking on Mitch McConnell for chairmanship of the Senate GOP's election committee. He lost that race badly, 39–13, dashing what once looked like a bright future as a party leader inside the Senate.

There's nothing Hagel likes less than talking about right and wrong in the context of foreign policy. Pro-Israeli groups view him almost uniformly as a problem. "He doesn't always cast bad votes, but he always says the wrong thing," comments an Israel supporter who watches Congress. An April speech is a case in point. "We will need a wider lens to grasp the complex nature and consequences of terrorism," said Hagel. He went on to cite a few examples of terrorism: FARC in Colombia, Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, and the Palestinian suicide bombers. Then he



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continued, "Arabs and Palestinians view the civilian casualties resulting from Israeli military occupation as terrorism." He didn't exactly say he shares this view—but he also failed to reject it.

"Foreign policy is not some theoretical, esoteric, Kissinger-esque thing hanging out there. It's foreign trade," Hagel said in 1998. Like a few other farm-state senators, he hasn't met a country he won't trade with. Last year, Hagel was one of just two senators who voted against extending the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. He's strongly opposed to the trade embargo against Cuba—so much so, in fact, that he was the single lawmaker Jimmy Carter invited to accompany him to Havana this year. Hagel considered going, but ultimately didn't because he wanted to participate in the Senate debate over Trade Promotion Authority. He nevertheless hailed Carter's trip: "What Jimmy Carter's saying . . . is exactly right: Our 40-year policy toward Cuba is senseless." Hagel so staunchly advocates trade with China that he's willing to sell out a traditional U.S. ally. "When we say we're going to defend Taiwan, what are we saying there?" he asked a *New York Times* reporter three years ago. "Are we saying that if the Chinese send a missile over, we're at war with China? It's a big thing to say. I think we're rather careless."

Hagel certainly knows something about carelessness. In 1998, when the Lewinsky scandal was smashing Bill Clinton's credibility, Hagel gave a speech on global conflict. It was vintage Hagel, full of high-minded apprehension, and it earned the rookie senator plaudits from the likes of the *Washington Post*'s David Broder, the embodiment of the capital's liberal establishment. "Congress must be very careful in what we say and what we do as we proceed along a very dangerous path. We must be careful not to weaken or neuter the president in front of the world," said Hagel. "America must speak to the world with some sense and some semblance of unity. We cannot allow our foreign policy to unravel before the eyes of the world during a very dangerous time."

It's the exact reverse of Hagel's behavior toward President Bush. Someone might remind him that words have meaning. **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

The DHS Debacle

A department we'll spend a lifetime criticizing

KATE O'BEIRNE

CONGRESS'S race to complete the most complicated reorganization of the federal government in history prompted a senior leader at one conservative think tank to caution his colleagues, who hoped to improve the proposal. "I reminded them that we were watching the creation of a department we'll likely spend the rest of our careers criticizing," he ruefully explains. Although just several weeks old, it is already clear that President Bush's plan to toss 22 agencies into a grand new enterprise dedicated to homeland security will keep conservative critics and congressional meddlers busy for years to come. Despite the president's desire to create "an agile organization that takes advantage of modern technology and management techniques," the new Department of Homeland Security (DHS) promises to be a bigger, more expensive version of the bureaucratic status quo.

Conservative foes of big government aren't alone in their growing opposition to the creation of a 15th cabinet agency. Scholars at the Brookings Institution recently issued a report sounding a warning of their own. "The danger is that top managers will be preoccupied for months, if not years, with getting the reorganization right . . . thus giving insufficient attention to their real job: taking concrete action to counter the terrorist threat at home." Because the White House legislation to consolidate 170,000 federal workers and $37 billion is thin on specifics at just 35 pages long, someone will certainly have to get the details of such a massive reorganization right. Paul C. Light, director of government studies at Brookings, objects to the president's plan as "a slapped-together approach that is destined for great confusion, great difficulty, and possible failure."

The "great confusion" part came true when the plan was beaten up rather severely as it tried to speed through about a dozen House committees on its fast track to a Rose Garden signing ceremony. Under Republican leadership, the various committees voted against virtually every major agency transfer that the administration was advocating. Committees wanted to leave the Coast Guard, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and half of the INS out of the new department. The Ways and Means Committee agreed to let the Customs Service be moved to it—as long as the Treasury Department maintained management authority over the service.

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Big-government foes aren't alone in their growing opposition to the creation of a 15th cabinet agency.

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At least the Judiciary Committee agreed that the Secret Service should be moved out of the Treasury Department—but to the Justice Department rather than to DHS. A select committee set up by the House Republican leadership undid most of the committees' handiwork, but turf-conscious members' lack of support for the administration's consolidation means that DHS faces a lifetime of congressional foot-dragging and micromanagement.

Turf battles, and overall lack of enthusiasm for the enterprise, are also evident within the administration. The Coast Guard is shoring up congressional support to be left alone, while the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is lobbying not to be left behind at Treasury. Securing the borders is a fundamental responsibility of DHS, so the attorney general and treasury secretary are slated to lose major agencies, but permitting the State Department to maintain operational control over the issuance of visas—the first line of defense against malevolent visitors—protects Colin Powell's turf.

The House committees also refused to give the administration the manage-

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ment and budget flexibility that it maintains is crucial to the success of the new department. The modest request to be permitted to transfer up to 5 percent of appropriations to different accounts, with prior notice to Congress, in order to be able to adapt quickly to new threats, was summarily rejected. OMB director Mitch Daniels was right when he pointed out that because "al-Qaeda doesn't have a three-foot-thick code of federal regulations to read through, this department is going to need to be nimble"—but it doesn't appear the administration will be nimble enough to avoid creating a new department as encumbered by rules and regulations as any other government bureaucracy.

The speedy congressional consideration of DHS's design didn't inhibit its growth. Within days of the plan's arrival on Capitol Hill, experts were predicting that the estimated number of 170,000 affected employees was probably significantly higher; one estimate put the number of workers at 225,000. A report from the Congressional Budget Office pegged the cost of creating the department at $3 billion—not for greater homeland security, mind you, just for the reorganization costs. And, even as the administration continued to insist that its proposal is budget-neutral, homeland-security czar Tom Ridge—in response to opposition to the transfer of the Coast Guard—identified a level of commitment that promises to be an extremely expensive way to appease congressional opinion. In the case of the Coast Guard, Ridge pointed out that the service is already slated for the largest funding increase in its history, and predicted that moving it to the new department "will only increase future support for its missions."

In the House, making a hash of the president's plan was a bipartisan enterprise; in the Senate, however, Republicans grumble about majority leader Tom Daschle's apparent intent to produce a plan that suits his caucus alone. Just two weeks before the president announced that he was embracing the notion of a new cabinet agency, every Republican on the Senate Government Affairs Committee voted against a similar plan offered by Joe Lieberman. Senate GOP aides now complain that the administration has been so committed to winning Democratic support that it has insisted that the plan's point men will brief only bipartisan get-togethers.

As they watch the plan develop from a distance, Republican staffers explain that they are trying to figure out what provisions the White House considers non-negotiable. For his part, Tom Daschle declared himself early on when he announced that his caucus was unanimously opposed to any waiver authority of civil-service rules for the new secretary. Tom Ridge points out that without the requested flexibility, the new agency will be forced to operate with seven different, complex personnel and pay systems; but the administration hasn't declared that the obvious need to waive some of these civil-service restrictions is non-negotiable. A GOP leadership aide predicts that Senate Democrats will "slap together a plan without the tools to make it work, and blame Bush for its failure. . . . [They] will put this pig in a dress and call it a doll."

The work of the House's select committee devoted to creating a new bureaucracy over which dozens of congressional committees will have jurisdiction was briefly interrupted when the House Intelligence Committee released its report on pre–9/11 intelligence failures. One of the key shortcomings identified in the report: "Congressional oversight of counterterrorism is highly duplicative and inefficient."

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There is no guarantee that there will be a cohesive security policy just because there's a new department.

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Since 9/11, there have been over 150 hearings—in the House alone—on homeland security. None of the current problems that have been discovered in the intelligence community, the INS, or airport security will be solved by a change of address for ineffectual agencies. Nor is there any guarantee that there will be a cohesive security policy just because there's a new department. The Department of Energy was created

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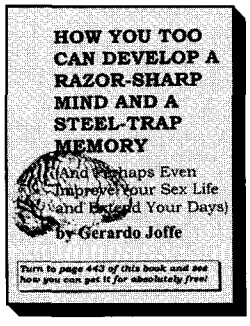
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over two decades ago, ostensibly to create a cohesive national energy policy; thankfully, perhaps, it has never succeeded.

Finally, despite its billing, the proposed reorganization is neither comprehensive nor cohesive. The administration estimates that over 100 different government offices currently share responsibilities for homeland security, so the hastily proposed transfer of 22 of them leaves the majority outside of DHS. And some of the agencies slated for this new home actually bring unrelated responsibilities into it. In addition to being charged with protecting the homeland, the new secretary will be responsible for responding to natural disasters, search-and-rescues at sea, immigration and naturalization, thwarting counterfeiters, and fighting drug smuggling.

Tom Ridge has told lawmakers that only maximum flexibility for DHS managers will make the new agency "greater than the sum of its parts," and that if it's not, "it would obviously not be worth creating." He's right. **NR**

The Right Reaction
NATIONAL REVIEW

"I can only hope that the civil-rights division . . . will not make policy and personnel decisions based upon the wishes [and] recommendations of National Review."

—Sen. Ted Kennedy refers to John J. Miller's "Fort Liberalism" (NR, May 6, 2002) during Judiciary Committee oversight hearings of the Department of Justice's civil-rights division.

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Beds, Bathhouses, and Beyond

'The return of public sex'

ROD DREHER

WHEN Harvard AIDS researcher Dr. Bruce Walker made his startling announcement to colleagues on July 10, the scientists filling the room at the 14th International Conference on AIDS audibly gasped. Dr. Walker revealed the case of an HIV-positive Boston man whose immune system had been doing an extraordinary job fighting the infection on its own. Then the man had unprotected sex with a male partner who was infected with a different strain of HIV.

"He never got a new [immune] response against the second virus, and he declined clinically," Dr. Walker said. "The public-health implication of this is that it is possible to become infected with a second strain of HIV, even a very closely related one."

This has, as one scientist put it, "shattering implications" for the development of an AIDS vaccine. In plain terms, it means the HIV virus is so mutable and durable that the standard method of vaccine-making will almost certainly not work.

Clearly, AIDS is going to be with us for a long time. And it's going to cost a lot of money. Another study presented at the AIDS conference found that the annual cost of treating a single patient in the advanced stages of AIDS is $34,000, and $14,000 for those who are HIV-positive but still healthy. According to the latest Centers for Disease Control numbers, as many as 900,000 Americans are living with either HIV or full-blown AIDS.

The situation is grim and getting grimmer. Just don't tell the gay-male community, or at least a significant portion of it. Many are partying like there's no tomorrow—and guaranteeing that for an untold number, there won't be.

"Gay Sluts Are Back," read the headline in the June 26 Gay Pride issue of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. The article, by self-described "gay slut" Simon Sheppard, celebrated the renascence of promiscuity among Bay Area homosexuals: "The threat of HIV was (and is) real and deadly. But the epidemic was also seized on as an instrument of control, by assimilationists within the queer community who wanted us all to behave like good girls and by those in the larger heterocentrist culture who were both envious of and repelled by men who numbered their sex partners in the dozens. Or hundreds. Or thousands."

The article characterized efforts by AIDS-prevention experts to dampen male promiscuity as hatred of sex and male desire. To ignore the problem, the argument goes, is to be both moral (since fulfilling sexual desire is the greatest good) and authentic. "[T]here's been a quantum increase in unprotected anal sex, not only between those already HIV-infected but also among the not-yets," Sheppard wrote. "People who work in AIDS-prevention programs will confirm what we all already knew: queer men are having more sex, and less of it is condomized." He went on to praise the joy of "unapologetic homo-lust."

Meanwhile, in New York, the AIDS capital of America, a city that has over four times the number of AIDS cases (122,000) as San Francisco (28,000), the Gay Pride issue of the *Village Voice* came with a headline touting "The Return of Public Sex." Mind you, this was not a lament. Writer Steve Weinstein opened his report from a penthouse party where a crowd of men in their twenties had paid $20 to participate in a private orgy. Then he went to a "dimly lit Midtown hotel suite" where 18 men were having an orgy; next, to a tugboat near Chelsea Piers, which men were using for anonymous sex. "After years of AIDS anxiety and government repression," he wrote, "gay public sex is bigger and better than ever."

The Internet is making this possible. Finding out where orgies are being held in your city on any given day is as easy as checking the Dow. Worse, some of these affairs are so-called "barebacking" events, which Michelangelo Signorile, a leading gay columnist, described *five years ago* as "quite common." Barebacking is the term

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used to describe unprotected anal sex. The risk of contracting HIV rises dramatically with condomless sex, of course; it's the danger that makes this kind of sex so exciting to its practitioners. Then there's the conviction that with protease-inhibiting drugs, AIDS is a manageable disease.

Even more perverse are so-called "conversion parties," in which HIV-negative men willingly submit to sexual intercourse with AIDS-infected partners. In the argot of the gay sexual underworld, this is called "giving the gift," and those looking to become infected with HIV are called "bug chasers." A variation on this theme are "Russian Roulette parties," which consist of bareback orgies with HIV-positive and uninfected men, whose HIV status may not, by mutual consent, be known before the sex begins.

Because condomless sex is still considered an outlaw practice, researchers say it's impossible to tell with any accuracy how much of it is occurring. But a few studies, as well as anecdotal evidence, suggest that it is on the rise, and a sharp increase in the reported number of AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease cases bears this out. In May 2001, the Centers for Disease Control released a study indicating that a second massive wave of AIDS infections, comparable to the first wave of the 1980s, was about to sweep the homosexual population.

cover story

Gay sluts are back

After a long drought, the fags are f ing again. *By Simon Sheppard*

A few prominent gay voices have broken the taboo on criticizing the sexual behavior of fellow homosexuals, and have been attacked by other gays as anti-sex and even homophobic. Gabriel Rotello, in his 1997 book *Sexual Ecology: AIDS and the Destiny of Gay Men*, bluntly stated that "people will have to accept the fact that the unlimited, unstructured pursuit of absolute sexual freedom was biologically disastrous for gay men." He warned that it takes only a small number of gay men who engage in unprotected sex with multiple partners to keep the epidemic alive.

Michelangelo Signorile, exasperated by the devil-may-care promiscuity of many fellow homosexuals, wondered, "How will we continue to get hard-fought funding from the government, and compassion from our liberal friends, when they learn that a small but growing group of people within our own community are behaving recklessly and selfishly? How can many lesbians and a great many gay men themselves not throw their hands in the air, rightly disgusted and anguished?"

It turns out that Signorile was unduly worried. He posed those questions in 1997. Since then, there has been no hint that AIDS funding will be reduced or compassion lessened. We have now reached the point where gay promiscuity and bareback orgies can be praised in the

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pages of major left-wing newspapers as a return to the good old days. While the more mainstream media outlets would never publish articles praising this suicidal phenomenon, they have been conspicuously silent about it, and they have not helped build the kind of public outrage among responsible gays and straights that might stand a chance of curtailing these practices. Imagine how the phenomenon would be reported if, in the middle of a deadly typhus epidemic, people were keeping the epidemic going by getting together to exchange infected lice for fun and pleasure. How would the newspapers report it? What would the public say? How would the government react?

Social condemnation is, in fact, just about the only realistic measure that can be taken to combat this behavior. During the first wave of the AIDS epidemic, some city governments, including San Francisco's, closed the gay bathhouses, where public, anonymous sex was common, and which therefore served as incubators of the plague. This time, though, it is much more difficult to devise measures to crack down on public sex. For one thing, many barebacking parties occur in private residences. For another, a man craving anonymous sex need not risk arrest by prowling in public toilets or city parks for his fix; he has only to log on to the Internet, where willing partners and private locations for trysts are only a few mouse-clicks away.

One is tempted to think: So what? What goes on behind closed doors is nobody's business. This is fatally wrong. Aside from the fact that it's inhumane to remain indifferent while people blithely kill themselves, there is the not-insignificant matter of the enormous cost to the taxpayer and the health-care system. And, much more important, the mutation of HIV into newer and deadlier forms of the virus—a process aided by sex between HIV-positive men infected by different strains—has made an AIDS vaccine an even more remote possibility. The unavoidable truth is that male homosexual life has, in some quarters, become a death cult. Yet no one dares to hold gay-male society accountable for the nihilistic, erotomaniacal subculture that sustains the killing and dying. At the beginning of the third decade of the AIDS epidemic, the band, it seems, is still playing on: same song, second sad verse. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH II** ■

Patriot Games

The question that can't be raised—or can it?

JONAH GOLDBERG

"It is . . . clear how wrong the president was to sit back and let his political pals orchestrate a campaign to question the patriotism of those who urged a full national debate" on war with Iraq, writes Tom Oliphant of the *Boston Globe*. *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman concurs. "The Bush administration," he writes, is "always quick to question the patriotism of anyone who gets in its way." And *The Economist* has observed: "Republican candidates for this autumn's elections speak with a single voice. Defend the tax cut; pump up spending on the war on terror; praise the president; and—sotto voce—question the patriotism of anyone who criticises him."

But is all of this true? Is the White House really casting doubt on its critics' love of country? Maybe a little, though Krugman & Co. rarely provide evidence to back up such accusations. But the facts are beside the point, because the question of patriotism, or the lack of it, constitutes the oldest form of political correctness in America. All you need to do is question whether someone is questioning your patriotism and you've already won the argument. It's very similar to the accusation of "going negative" in political campaigns: The charge that your opponent is unfairly attacking you is in itself a form of attack against which, apparently, there is no defense. Similarly, it seems the only response to the charge that you've impugned someone's love of country is to back down completely. "No, no, I would never question anyone's patriotism" is the standard capitulation.

Mr. Goldberg is the editor of National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com).

There are a number of reasons for this healthy distaste for making patriotism a wedge issue. First, as Walter Berns noted in his book *Making Patriots*, America is a nation founded upon individual rights. American patriotism, therefore, is the opposite of Spartan patriotism, which was a love of the State above all else. Patriotism in America is rightly defined as a love for the institutions that keep us free. Since American patriotism is less about blood and soil than it is about ideas, patriots must recognize that political dissent is politically loyal.

Another, less salubrious historical source of this distaste is the terrible spectacle of the McCarthy period. Joe McCarthy challenged the loyalty of many Americans, which is, to be sure, an ugly thing to do. He was certainly right about the disloyalty of *some* Americans; still, the Left has won the propaganda war over that period and now calls into question the idea that anybody can ever be accused of a lack of patriotism. Sure, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg can be executed for treason; but never, ever doubt their love of America!

And so now, a point of political good manners has evolved into a cliché disguised as a moral fact: It is never right to question anyone's patriotism. And this is absurd. Surely Robert Hanssen, Aldrich Ames, and Jonathan Pollard were less patriotic than, say, Sgt. York? There must be rational ways to deduce that someone is relatively more patriotic than someone else. A person who regularly denounces America as bigoted, corrupt, and a cancer on the planet, one might reasonably assume, might be marginally less patriotic than your average volunteer firefighter or VFW hall manager.

The Iraqi News Agency recently reported, for example, that Louis Farrakhan told the Iraqi Islamic Affairs minister that "the Muslim American people are praying to the almighty God to grant victory to Iraq." He claims to have been misquoted, but whether he said it or not, it is reasonable to say that Farrakhan's actions are not brimming with patriotism, especially when taken in the context of his other comments about the United States.

So what? Does it matter if someone isn't patriotic? Of course it does, in some

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contexts. Irreligious hot-dog vendors aren't a big deal; irreligious priests and rabbis, on the other hand, can be a serious problem for their respective religions. Similarly, an unpatriotic plumber isn't much of a threat to the Republic; an unpatriotic politician just might be. Take an obvious example: As pressure builds for the U.S. to surrender its sovereignty to various international bodies, it seems perfectly relevant to inquire into a politician's commitment to the supremacy of American institutions. If you are of the Noam Chomsky school and believe that the story of America is a story of exploitation, greed, and oppression, it follows that you will be sympathetic to the arguments of foreign critics and much more open to the "ameliorative" laws, regulations, and treaties offered by the United Nations and the like. If you believe that America was put on this earth to launch some full-tilt boogie for freedom and justice, however, then you will likely be more skeptical of innovations like the International Criminal Court.

To those of an "international" outlook, patriotism is an atavistic passion—in Bertrand Russell's words, "the willingness to kill and be killed for trivial reasons." It's entirely understandable, therefore, that the broadly defined Left, as the self-anointed fixer of history, would want to de-legitimize patriotism as a political issue. And the best way to do this is to respond to questions about your patriotism by leveling accusations of McCarthyism at your critic. During one of the 1992 presidential debates, President Bush commented, "I think it's wrong to demonstrate against your own country or organize demonstrations against your own country on foreign soil." Gov. Clinton shot back: "Your father was right to stand up to Joe McCarthy. You were wrong to attack my patriotism. I was opposed to the war, but I love my country." Okay, but Prescott Bush's disagreements with Sen. McCarthy notwithstanding, does that mean Clinton's anti-American protests on foreign soil weren't a legitimate issue? Given Clinton's record of apologizing for America's sins around the world and his eagerness to sign up for various U.N. schemes, it seems that maybe his youthful indiscretions weren't entirely irrelevant to his presidency.

Unfortunately, the Left's strategy has worked. Indeed, pretty much any argument that makes liberals look bad is now called McCarthyism of some kind. (Cf. Alan Dershowitz's *Sexual McCarthyism.*) Even though the vast majority of liberal politicians could defuse patriotism as an issue with a few words—as evidenced by their mad dash to denounce the recent Pledge decision—it still makes them uncomfortable enough to accuse conservatives of fascism when they bring it up.

Farrell Grehan/Corbis

Nathan Hale—unquestionably

But if conservatives content themselves with appeasing the delicate sensibilities of liberals, then conservatism will become meaningless. It would be better if conservatives stopped paying tribute to the politically correct fiction that patriotism is an unquantifiable and irrelevant barbarism, and took the issue head-on instead of speaking in code. It's no wonder so many liberals imagine conservatives question their love of America, when so many conservatives wink when they say they don't.

One thing we should ask those on the left who claim patriotism is an illegitimate issue is: Why is it so much worse to question someone's patriotism than to question his humanity? Conservatives have their compassion—for the young, the old, and the poor—questioned almost hourly. Dick Gephardt and Tom Daschle frame almost every issue in terms of Democrats who "care" about blacks, gays, the old, the young, the sick, the poor, the handicapped, etc., versus Republicans who "don't care about" (that is to say, who hate) these same categories of people.

Bill Clinton regularly demanded that Congress pass legislation that, in his words, "lifts people up without punishing children"—the assumption being that those who disagreed with his approach might be willing to punish children. The Million Mom March was in a sense couched in maternal McCarthyism: You're not a "real" mother if you don't support gun control. Jesse Jackson suggests, all the time, that conservatives are Nazis. While serving as Al Gore's campaign manager, Donna Brazile infamously declared that Republicans "have no love and no joy. They'd rather take pictures with black children than feed them."

Indeed, Al Gore's "people versus the powerful" campaign flatly asserted that Gore cared more about Americans than Bush did. But for some reason, the question of who cares more about *Americans* is the essence of responsible politics, but the question of who cares more about *America* is a gross perversion of what it means to be an American. Surely, if it's fair to suggest that conservatives are racists, warmongers, child-haters, Dickensian ogres, and unfit mothers, there's a smidgen of room to suggest that some liberals don't like America as much as we do. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY III ■

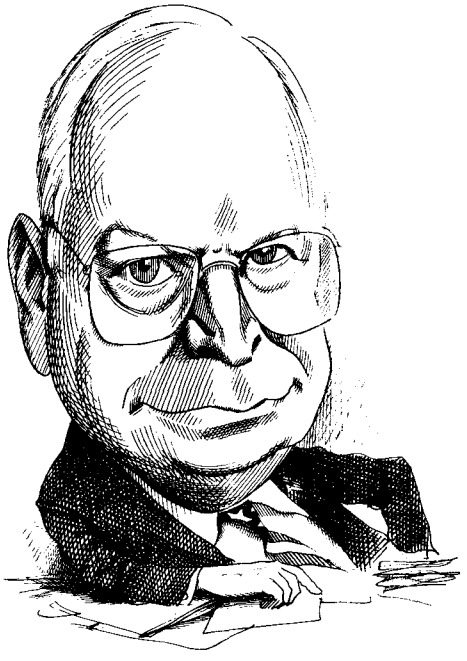
Get Cheney

Democrats try to hang the veep with Halliburton

BYRON YORK

HERE'S a worrisome scenario for Tom Daschle, Dick Gephardt, and the rest of the Democratic leadership in Washington. Suppose they are unable to convince Americans that President Bush engaged in insider trading when he sold stock in Harken Energy back in 1990. And suppose they are unable to convince Americans that Vice President Dick Cheney used fraudulent, WorldCom-style accounting practices while he was CEO of Halliburton. What then? Much of the current Democratic critique of Bush and Cheney rests on the charge that they are hypocrites to propose corporate rules which they themselves didn't follow—or, at the very least, that their business records undermine any credibility they might have to enact reform. But if the public believes Bush and Cheney acted responsibly in private business, the hypocrisy/credibility argument begins to evaporate.

That explains why Democrats are trying so hard to keep the issue alive in this election year. They've had some difficulty with the Harken case, because publicly available documents from the Securities and Exchange Commission's investigation establish pretty clearly that Bush did not do anything wrong. Halliburton, however, offers a real opportunity for Democrats—at least for now.



By Roman Genn

The Harken probe ended in 1993, but the SEC has just begun to investigate the company that Dick Cheney headed from 1995 to 2000. In the absence of publicly available evidence and official conclusions, Democrats have been free to throw around any accusation they like. Just recently, for example, the Democratic National Committee charged that Cheney's record at Halliburton was filled "with irregularities that look similar to practices by WorldCom and other corporations condemned by the administration in recent weeks."

But it appears that Democrats will soon run into the same problem with Cheney and Halliburton that they did with Bush and Harken. Even though most of the evidence the SEC is investigating in the Halliburton case remains out of public view, a look at what *is* available suggests there is no more merit to the charge against Cheney than there was to the charge against Bush. Both the available evidence and interviews with people knowledgeable about the case strongly suggest that the SEC will finish its probe without finding any evidence of accounting fraud by Halliburton or Cheney.

Even worse for Democrats, an exoneration of Cheney might turn out to be just part of a broader failure of the party's "corporate greed" strategy against the White House and Republicans in Congress. Polling data suggest that, despite the Democrats' best efforts, the public has not bought the idea that Bush and Cheney have been involved in unethical corporate behavior. In addition, there is the possibility that the Democrats' continuing criticism of the president and vice president will set off a reaction in which their *own* business histories come under close examination. In the end, the issue that Democrats now believe will lead them to victory in November might ultimately amount to little or nothing at all.

AN ACCRUING CONTROVERSY

Though Democrats have long accused Cheney of being too close to the energy industry, allegations of corruption did not kick into high gear until May 22, when the *New York Times* noted that during Cheney's time at Halliburton, the company "altered its accounting policies so it could report as revenue more than $100 million in disputed costs on big construction projects." That move, the *Times* said, helped Halliburton conceal growing losses. The paper also reported that Halliburton did not tell its investors about the "aggressive" change for more than a year, adding, "Accounting specialists said that the change stretched and may have broken accounting rules." Within a week, Halliburton received notice from the SEC that federal regulators had begun an investigation of the company's accounting practices.

In the weeks that followed, Cheney's critics jumped on the story, accusing the vice president's old company of switching to a risky method of accounting to cover up its debts, and then keeping the change secret from stockholders.

First, the accounting allegation: Halliburton handles enormous construction projects, like power plants and oil refiner-

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ies. In the past, the company had signed construction contracts on what was known as a cost-plus basis. That meant the customer paid the costs of construction plus an agreed-upon profit for Halliburton. But in the 1990s, Halliburton began to sign more fixed-price contracts in which it agreed to do projects for a pre-determined fee. "The industry as a whole was changing," says Wendy Hall, a spokeswoman for Halliburton. "It was moving from cost-plus contracts to large lump-sum contracts."

The change created pressure to revise the way Halliburton accounted for revenues from such projects. With a fixed-price deal, whenever the final cost of the project ran over the preset dollar amount, Halliburton had to go back to the customer to try to get payment for the extra costs. Until 1998, Halliburton recorded such payments in its revenue column only when the customer actually sent in a check. But in 1998, Halliburton adopted another system of accounting in which it recorded revenues more quickly, based on an estimate of what it would ultimately collect. Halliburton made the change in the aftermath of its expensive merger with Dresser Industries, and the change allowed Halliburton to post more revenue to offset the losses associated with the merger.

Despite criticisms that the move "stretched and may have broken accounting rules," it appears that Halliburton's method of accounting is in fact not only perfectly legitimate but is the preferred way for large companies to do business these days. "Back in 1982, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants issued a statement of position on contract accounting, including cost overruns," says Doug Carmichael, professor of accounting at Baruch College. "Prior to that time, those things were only recorded when they were resolved on a cash basis. But generally, accounting doesn't work that way. It works on an accrual basis, where things are recognized when they happen rather than when cash changes hands." Now, Carmichael says, "recognizing [revenues] on an accrual basis when the costs are incurred is probably the method that most contractors follow. It's what the audit guide says should be done."

Still, there is potential for abuse—what if a company counts as revenue money it knows it will never be paid? Accounting rules require firms to have a solid basis to expect that money will actually be collected before the money can be posted as revenue. "There's a lot of specific guidance on what makes revenue bookable," explains a Halliburton source, who says the company has carefully stayed within the guidelines. "We follow that, and our auditors review our work." Although Halliburton has taken a lot of criticism for using Arthur Andersen as its accountant, the source says that more recently specialists from KPMG Peat Marwick have reviewed and approved Halliburton's contract accounting. If the company can make that case to the Securities and Exchange Commission, there will likely be no problem with the issue of its accounting.

The second allegation against Halliburton is that it kept the accounting change secret from its stockholders for more than a year, waiting until the 1999 annual report to make it public. There is little doubt that Halliburton should have reported the change in the '98 report. But the company has argued that the change did not, at first, involve all that much revenue—that it was not what accountants would call a "material" amount. In the first year, for example, Halliburton used the new accounting method to post $89 million in revenue—out of annual sales of $17 *billion*. "We felt like that wasn't a material amount," says Wendy Hall. "The next year, we realized it was a material amount and we wanted to report it."

But even though the $89 million was a small part of Halliburton's total sales, it represented a significant chunk of Halliburton's *net income* and it was, by anybody's count, a lot of money. So it is entirely possible that the SEC will decide Halliburton should have made the change public immediately. "My guess is the SEC will say that they should have disclosed it," says J. Edward Katz, a professor of accounting at Penn State. "I would argue that it was material when compared with income."

But the SEC has to answer another, critical question: Was it fraud? "Making a determination that the difference was material still doesn't mean it was fraudulent," says an SEC source. "Was it a violation, or was it a fraudulent violation?"

■

The SEC investigation of Halliburton may end with a whimper. But it's not likely to be the end of the story for Democrats.

■

Here, there are two factors that argue strongly in Halliburton's favor. First, the company *did* disclose the accounting change the next year. And second, when it announced the change, nothing much happened. If the accounting switch had signaled a major shift in the company's finances, it likely would have caused an uproar among industry analysts and Halliburton investors. But in fact no one seemed to care. "There were no analysts or research reports questioning it," says a Halliburton source. "Regardless of whether it should or should not have been [disclosed] in '98, we did put it out in '99, and there was no market reaction. Up until this year, there have been no analyst or investor inquiries."

Given those facts, it seems a good bet that the SEC investigation will end with a whimper. "The likelihood is that it would end up in a Section 21C order, which is a cease and desist order," says Edward Fleischman, a former SEC commissioner. "Without Halliburton admitting or denying, the SEC would order the company to cease and desist from ever doing anything like that again. Unless they have found some systemic, Fastow-like effort [a reference to Andrew Fastow, the former chief financial officer at Enron] to play games, that's the end of the story."

FORTY SEATS

But it's not likely to be the end of the story for Democrats. The party has put an enormous amount of energy into the "corporate greed" campaign. *Roll Call* reported recently that House Majority leader Dick Gephardt "has told senior Democrats that the party could pick up as many as 40 House seats if the continuously unfolding corporate scandals can be

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kept on the political radar screen until November." (Gephardt later said he had been misquoted, but *Roll Call* stands by the story.) If Democrats believe so much is at stake, then the facts about Cheney and Halliburton, or about Bush and Harken, will hardly stop them.

But Democrats face several problems. The first is that, at least so far, the public isn't particularly involved in the issue. A recent *New York Times* poll found that only 10 percent of those polled had read or heard "a lot" about the Harken matter, while just 7 percent said they had read or heard a lot about Cheney and Halliburton. Other polls have had similar results. And fewer than 25 percent of those surveyed by the *Times* believed Bush or Cheney "did anything unethical" at Harken and Halliburton.

Another problem for Democrats is their continuing inability to tie blame for scandals like Enron and WorldCom to the Bush administration. Recently Democrats on the Senate Commerce Committee devoted a hearing to trying to establish a link between former top Enron executive (now Army secretary) Thomas White and the California energy shortage. "By the end of the hearing, Democrats were left with little more than they had started with," reported the *Sacramento Bee*. "Even with the Enron memos, which [Democratic senator Byron] Dorgan several times called 'smoking-gun memos,' there was nothing linking White to the California energy crisis." That's not exactly political dynamite.

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A problem for Democrats is their continuing inability to tie blame for scandals like Enron and WorldCom to the Bush administration.

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The Democrats' last problem is that their attempt to tar Republicans with business scandal might bring more attention to their own business records. DNC chairman McAuliffe—who recently called on Cheney to "come clean" about "the accounting tricks he used as CEO of Halliburton"—might be particularly vulnerable to scrutiny. While it is well known that McAuliffe made millions from a well-timed investment in the now-bankrupt Global Crossing, a number of other big paydays in his past have received less notice. For example, in the 1990s McAuliffe entered into a deal with a union pension fund to purchase Florida real estate. McAuliffe put up $100, the union put up $39 million, and the two became 50/50 partners; McAuliffe eventually pocketed $2.45 million from his $100 investment. After a Labor Department investigation, the union officials involved were forced to pay heavy penalties for entering into an imprudent deal with McAuliffe.

If such deals—as well as other questionable arrangements involving top Democrats—were to become well known, they might create the impression that there is more than a little hypocrisy behind the party's accusations against Bush and Cheney. Voters might become more skeptical about the "corporate greed" campaign. And those 40 seats might never materialize, despite Dick Gephardt's fondest hopes. **NR**

Preoccupied

When a great power moves into Iraq . . .

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

IT'S a strange moment. As in a Shakespeare play, the air is full of portents. According to many an expert and many a headline, Saddam Hussein is living on borrowed time. He is due to be overthrown in the near future, maybe next January or February. Nobody knows quite how or with what consequences. Leaks in Washington indicate that a land force of 250,000 troops will invade Iraq from bases in Turkey, Qatar, and Bahrain, even Jordan, but not Saudi Arabia, hitherto considered an ally. CIA agents are said to be in Iraq fomenting revolt, while British special forces are prepared to sabotage plants making Saddam's weapons of mass destruction. A whole range of Iraqi exiles and defectors is gathering to plan the imminent takeover of power.

But other leaks suggest lack of resolution and unanimity in the administration, above all that the State Department is unwilling to sanction the use of force without a proper provocation from Saddam, preferably a proven link to al-Qaeda. The international anti-American Left—the postmodern version of the Comintern—is mustering, pens poised to sign petitions of appeasement and surrender, laying the ground for pacifist demonstrations to come. Saddam himself is in fine form, appearing on television to rant with the literary hyperbole he has made all his own: "The wind will blow away foreign rattling as the noise of an evil covetous tyrant." After the September 11 blitzkrieg, this is the Phony War. It is indeed a strange moment.

THINKING BIG

A pitiless gangster and murderer, Saddam has victimized his own people and his neighbors, wasting their future. Nothing can be said in his favor. The huge majority of Iraqis will turn out in the streets to welcome Saddam's demise, just as the Afghans welcomed their liberation from the Taliban. So momentous an event will mark at last the modernizing and democratization of Iraq, and perhaps other countries too. Arab regimes one and all are absolute, and seemingly impervious to democracy and power-sharing in any form. It is the rule of the strong over the weak, endlessly capable of reproducing itself, a malignancy lingering from history. Saddam's overthrow could be to the Arab world what the collapse of Communism was to the Soviet bloc. "America has to think big," in the words of Kanan Makiya, the courageous Iraqi dissident.

Iraq is a country in name only. In Ottoman days, it consisted of separate provinces for the principal local elements,

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of many books, including *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, newly reprinted by Ivan R. Dee.

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the Sunni and Shia Arabs, and the Kurds, who are a separate people, not Arab but Muslim, with a language of their own. To complicate things, there are Kurdish Shia, known as Fayalis. In a culture of sectarian and tribal rivalry, other minorities clung to their identity, among them Yazidis, Turkomans, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Jews—altogether an ethnographer's joy. Themselves Sunni, the Ottoman rulers privileged the Sunni minority, who constituted only about a quarter of the population. The majority Shia and the Kurds and others put up with discrimination on the grounds that they were all subjects of the Muslim sultan in faraway Constantinople, and anyhow it was not in their power to alter their circumstances.

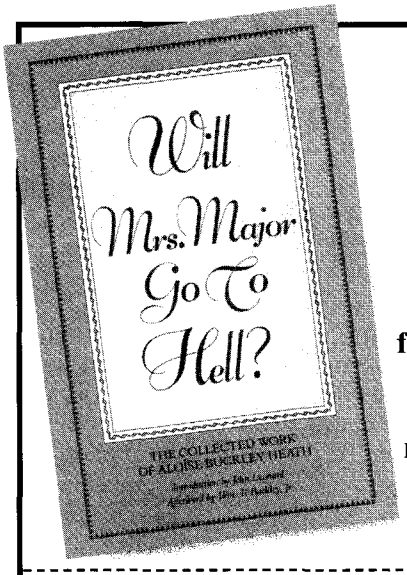
Entering the First War on the German side, Ottoman Turkey signed its death warrant. Its Arab provinces duly fell to the British and the French. Little or no forethought had been given in London or Paris to the disposition of these conquests. Imperial experiences elsewhere had already taught the British that they could no longer directly rule native peoples as they might have liked. They had a variety of local allies, but these were ready to turn at once into enemies if thwarted. Arab nationalists might be few in number, but enough to make trouble. Similarly with the Zionists in Palestine. Abdul Aziz ibn Saud had also maneuvered the British into subsidizing his conquest of what is now Saudi Arabia. Not philosopher-kings, the British chose what looked like a practical solution. They appointed friendly local rulers, and allowed them to be as independent as possible while themselves retaining power as invisibly as possible. Soon the Arab world was a patchwork of such arrangements.

Iraq was a particularly awkward case. Once the British occupied it, they set up a military administration—later to become a civilian one—and set about searching for a ruler. Nobody seemed fit for the task. Among British officials casting about for ideas was Gertrude Bell, a sentimental but well-connected busybody who held the position of Oriental Secretary to the High Commissioner. In 1918 she could write: "It doesn't happen often that people are told that their future as a state is in their hands and asked what they would like." More than anyone, Lawrence of Arabia settled the issue. During the Arab revolt against the Ottomans, he had come to know Faisal, one of the sons of Sherif Hussein, the hereditary Hashemite ruler of Mecca until driven out by ibn Saud. Lawrence persuaded his colleagues and superiors to make Faisal king of Iraq, and afterwards could write that Faisal "owed me" Baghdad and also "most of his education in kingcraft and affairs." To his former commanding officer in the intelligence service, Lawrence boasted that he was a "foundation-member" of the kingdom of Iraq, and "so proud of it."

Senior British officials cautioned that Faisal was a Sunni, and as such unacceptable to the restless Shia majority. In his writings, Lawrence never mentions this defining sectarian divide. Sure enough, the Shia revolted, loath to have such a king imposed on them, and the British pioneered the use of aircraft to bomb them into submission. Including Indian troops, the British were to maintain a garrison of 100,000 men. A rigged plebiscite then approved Faisal's rule as monarch, and he duly arrived in a hot and sullen Baghdad for his coronation. "We swear allegiance to you," declared tribal sheikhs, "because you are acceptable to the British." "Can they save themselves from chaos?" wondered Gertrude Bell. "Their one cry is 'Help us.'"

Institutions to share power on some agreed basis among the Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds and others might have averted the 80 years of ethnic and sectarian strife that followed. The British did not have the imagination to reform absolutism on this scale, they didn't think big. A constituent assembly met, a cabinet was formed, elections were held, but these were all fig leaves. Instead the British propped up the one-man Sunni rule they had devised. Without the British, the high commissioner was to report in the '20s, the government of Iraq would "vanish altogether."

Essentially weak and devious, Faisal—as Elie Kedourie describes in his eloquent essay about the kingdom of Iraq in *The Chatham House Version*—tried to earn popularity by seeming to oppose the British who were indispensable to him. The resulting intrigues and rebellions only encouraged all



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against all. Shortly before his death in 1933, Faisal commented with bitter accuracy that there was still no Iraqi people, but only "unimaginable masses of human beings, devoid of any patriotic idea, imbued with religious traditions and absurdities, connected by no common tie, giving ear to evil; prone to anarchy, and perpetually ready to rise against any government whatever."

Discouraged by the failure to build any sort of a nation-state, the British in 1931 consented to grant independence; in plain language, they left the Iraqis to make what they could of things. From then on, the struggle of ambitious individuals to acquire supreme personal power in a country without the safeguarding political institutions of a state led to one horror after another: the genocide of the Assyrians, tribal and Kurdish uprisings, military coups and political assassinations, a revolt in 1941 in favor of Hitler's Germany, the lynching in 1958 of the 19-year-old King Faisal II and other members of his family, and the subsequent seizure of power by one brute after another, whether nominally Ba'athist or Communist. Saddam Hussein is merely the ugliest brute of all.

A REPLAY

The military operation of occupying Iraq is likely to be more straightforward than the British found it in the First War. Saddam's army has not recovered from its losses in 1991. His Ba'ath Party colleagues are mere opportunists. In the face of American resolution, the officer corps may well prefer to desert to the winning side, while the soldiers go home or rebel, especially if they are Kurds or Shia. But Saddam might again seek to divert the campaign by launching missile attacks on Israel, through northern Jordan or conceivably from the Mediterranean with the help of Yasser Arafat. Alternatively he might escape into exile. According to unverified rumor, in 1991 Saddam had an aircraft ready to fly him to Mauritania.

The Iraqis will then be back in the predicament which once excited Gertrude Bell, with their future as a state again in their hands. There could hardly be a sadder example of the utter sterility of absolutism. For the sake of a fresh start, some 200 potential leaders recently held a three-day conference in London. Some are civilians, others senior officers who have fled their country in fear of their lives. Exiles by definition squabble, and Washington—the State Department and the CIA in particular—is dismayed by their perceived contentiousness. Little groups with high-flown names such as the Iraqi National Accord, the Iraqi National Congress (INC), the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, do indeed have at their core individuals with the usual personal ambitions and separate ethnic and sectarian identities, Sunni and Shia and Kurd. As though to emphasize that the past is geared to repeat itself, two Hashemite princes also attended the conference. Sharif Ali bin Hussein of the Iraqi branch of the family, and Prince Hassan, uncle of King Abdullah II of Jordan, both denied that they had any special agenda but either could plausibly be enthroned in Baghdad.

Among contenders in exile, the outstanding personality—so to speak the president-in-waiting—is Ahmad Chalabi, head of the INC. A banker by profession and a politician by vocation, he comes from an influential family—Gertrude Bell was the friend of some Chalabis—is a Shia, and has authority and charm. He has good contacts inside Iraq, and until recently lived in the semi-autonomous Kurdish area where Saddam's writ does not run. "Help us," is what he too asks of the United States. An optimist, he dismisses the geopolitical and operational objections of his Washington critics. Iran wants to see the end of Saddam. Kurdish autonomy is not a genuine threat to Turkey. Change always panics the Saudis. Sunnis in Iraq sense keenly where power lies, and they will abandon Saddam. The situation will then be comparable to Germany in 1945, which was remade out of its totalitarian ruins into a democracy by coordination between Americans and Germans. Denazification offers a precedent for deba'athification—Saddam, his sons, and a few henchmen must eventually face an Iraqi Nuremberg trial.

As Saddam's one-man structure collapses, Chalabi hopes to form a provisional government of every representative group that has rejected Saddam. A force of 5,000 military police will have to keep the peace while the provisional government organizes the transition to democracy. In the British period, Iraqis were mostly tribal, and illiterate. Today over two-thirds of them live in cities with populations larger than half a million, and they are educated. This time a constituent assembly and elections are to be for real. Iraqis have to assess for themselves in a referendum whether they want a presidential or a parliamentary system, or a constitutional monarchy under a suitable Hashemite.

■

The military operation of occupying Iraq is likely to be more straightforward than the British found it in the First War.

■

Chalabi envisages a federation, some form of voluntary union among Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds, in order to have a forum in which to mediate their differences at last. In the circumstances, force is "not useful," a favorite expression of his. Self-determination is the guiding principle: If the Kurds and others want to go their own way, so be it. For America to be involved in what he calls the "sectarian and ethnic situation" would again be "not useful." For as long as required, though, America has to keep a garrison in the country as an ultimate guarantee of stability. A reliable Iraq is also a safer place to have bases than perfidious Saudi Arabia. The international Left will accuse the United States of aggression or imperialism, Chalabi concedes, but in fact it has no imperial aims, and such critics are interested in their own ideological purity rather than the welfare of Iraqis.

Democracy in Iraq is bound to be an imperfect process of two steps forward, one step back. But if anything like the expectations of Chalabi's program are fulfilled, Arab absolutism can be broken. Then Iraq and perhaps other Arab countries will finally become nation-states like any other, and there really will be a new world order. **NR**

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'Power and Values'

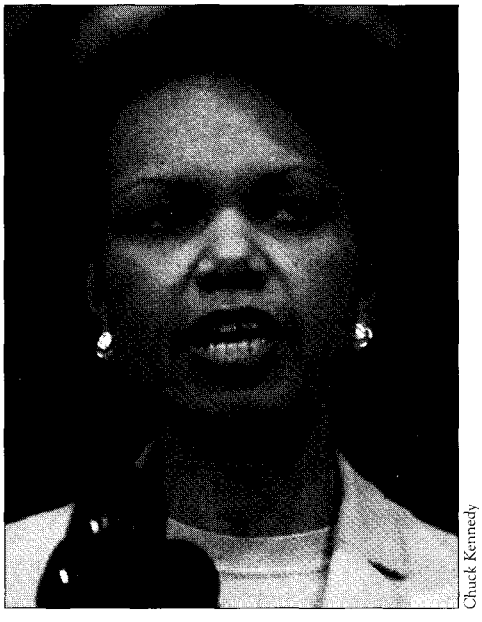
A conversation with Condoleezza Rice

TOWARD the end of the day on July 16, Jay Nordlinger sat down with Condoleezza Rice, the president's national security adviser, in her West Wing office. They had last talked for NR *in the summer of 1999, resulting in the piece "Star-in-Waiting: Meet George W.'s Foreign-Policy Czarina" (August 30, 1999). By now, obviously, Condi Rice needs no introduction. The recent conversation was, in part, a follow-up to the earlier discussion. Below are excerpts.*

JN: *Such a simple-minded question, but one asks it. What have you learned? What's been surprising?*
CR: There's no major surprise. I certainly knew what to expect in the job.

JN: *You'd been on staff [in the administration of the first Bush].*
CR: I'd been on the staff. I'd watched Brent Scowcroft do this job. So in terms of the daily operations . . . it all looks familiar to me.

None of us thought we would be dealing with the war on terrorism as a kind of central organizing principle . . . But the one thing that has been affirmed for me in the strongest possible terms is the tremendous legitimacy of democracy vis-à-vis any other system of governance. It is very, very powerful to watch this great democracy respond to 9/11 and to see its inherent strengths. Because when you look at democracy from the outside, I'm sure it must look chaotic and cacophonous, and there are all these different voices, and we fuss and we fight. And I keep thinking to myself, "The terrorists must have looked at us and thought: easy prey." But when our values were attacked, [the country] came together. And I contrast that with, I think, the difficulty of governments that do not have that link to their people . . .


Chuck Kennedy

JN: *Do you still consider yourself a* Realpolitiker, *or has that been tempered somewhat?*
CR: We had this talk, as you know [back in 1999]—the balance of power, realism versus ideals, power and values. And I said then, and I still believe, that they're inseparable. Clearly, the balance of power mattered when we defeated the Soviet Union . . . But you should never forget how powerful [our] ideals are. And every time, we tend to underestimate them. When we were getting ready to go into Afghanistan, the number of people who said, "Well, you know, a Muslim society, no history of democracy, no history of freedom, they won't care about those things" . . . And then the first thing that happens when Kabul is liberated is people go into the streets for simple freedoms, like the ability to play music or to send their girls to school. And you just forget how very powerful human dignity is as a principle of human behavior and how much it's supported by democracy. . . .

JN: *We used to hear about "Asian values"—the idea that democracy just wasn't right for those people. And the experience of Taiwan sort of put the lie to that. A lot of people now say that the Arab world and democracy are simply incompatible. "Arab values"—is that like saying "Asian values"?*
CR: We don't think there's anything incompatible about Islam and democratic values. And the President has said in a number of speeches, these values are universal—they're not our values, they're not Western, they're universal. And it's why I use the example of Afghanistan, because here people who were denied these freedoms for a long time . . . you just forget that when people have a choice between tyranny and freedom, they'll choose freedom.

JN: *You're repeatedly described in the press as "the President's tutor." Is that offensive?*
CR: Yes, yes. This President didn't need tutoring. Sure, he had not spent the last ten years at the Council on Foreign Relations, but he has, first of all, extremely strong values and principles. And that's what you most need in doing the job of president. He has plenty of foreign-policy experts around him to produce options for him, to present him with the pros and cons, with the long historical background. Rarely does someone sit in that office who is a foreign-policy expert . . . But the most important thing that he has is just a very strong sense of what's right and what's wrong, and an unwillingness to cut corners about it.

And this strategic sense of when it's important to shift ground is just amazing to me. You know, he knew that it was time to shift ground on what people had thought would be the answer to peace in the Middle East . . .

JN: *Oslo ad infinitum—that kind of thing?*
CR: Right. Or Russia, how to deal with Russia. And it's that tremendous strategic sense that is serving us very well. So, no, I really—I do resent the term ["tutor"].

JN: *Speaking of Russia: We withdrew from the ABM Treaty, and, funnily enough, the world didn't collapse. Moscow didn't sever relations with us. A new arms race didn't begin. What happened? I understand you're not, by nature, a gloater, but . . .*
CR: What happened is that the President understood the implications of the end of the Cold War much better than a lot of people who had studied this in great, expert detail. He understood that a new Russia offered an opportunity for a

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new relationship . . . based on something other than the relationship with the Soviet Union. . . .

JN: *Are we going to go ahead with missile defense?*
CR: Yes.

JN: *Committed?*
CR: Committed. It's one of the critical ways that you deal with the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And an American president—and it won't be this president, most likely, because many of the best technologies are in the future—an American president should have an array of defensive technologies to deal with [the problem of nuclear missiles]. But if this president doesn't get going and research, develop, and deploy what we can, it won't be there for the next president.

JN: *Do we take a less dim view of nation-building than we used to? Many of us used to say, "That's blue-helmet work, we should leave that to the pale blue hats," and so on.*
CR: I don't think we ever had a dim view of nation-building. We had a dim view of nation-building done by the 82nd Airborne. . . . But there clearly is a recognition that in a place like Afghanistan, our war aims were to defeat al-Qaeda, defeat the Taliban, but also to leave Afghanistan more stable, so that it doesn't return to its awful past. And in order to do that, you have to enter into a partnership with the Afghans to build their nation.

■

'Is the burden of proof that he's a bad guy who will undoubtedly cause a lot of trouble for the world . . . on him or on us?'

■

One of the problems with the concept of nation-building is that it implies it's our job to do. But of course, it's really the responsibility of the people themselves, with international help, to build their nation.

JN: *Sort of what happened in Germany and Japan?*
CR: Certainly what happened in Germany. [There] you had the Marshall Plan, you had very strong—during the occupation—strong influences from the international community. But it doesn't work without Erhard and the German market economy, which the Germans themselves were prepared to put in place.

JN: *So we pray for those, then, in the Middle East? For an Erhard and an Adenauer?*
CR: I think you find that if you can create the right circumstances, amazing people come to the fore. And in the case of Afghanistan, the number of Americans—Afghan-Americans—who have gone back to their ancestral land to try to help . . . The Palestinians have an amazing diaspora. And I think you find that given opportunities, people—good leadership—can emerge.

JN: *There are some who say that there has to be a further provocation from Iraq before we can confront Saddam Hussein in a very, very serious way. Is his drive toward weapons of mass destruction enough?*
CR: Let me preface this by saying that the President is looking at all his options but hasn't decided what he wants to do. But it is remarkable that people could look at the Saddam Hussein regime that continues to threaten its neighbors and its own people; that shoots at our planes in the no-fly zone practically every day; that negotiates with the United Nations about arms inspections as if *Saddam* had won the war in 1991. We know that he is trying to acquire weapons of mass destruction. We know that he has already used chemicals against both his neighbor and his own people . . . I can't think of a longer list of indictments against any other regime . . .

And you should ask yourself, "Is the burden of proof that he's a bad guy who will undoubtedly cause a lot of trouble for the world if there's not regime change—should the burden of proof be on him or on us?" And I would submit to you that the burden of proof ought to be on him, and he's failing that burden of proof.

JN: *Is our hand stayed by his retaliatory capability?*
CR: You have to take into consideration all potential consequences of any action you might take. That goes without saying. But I think what the President has been making clear . . . is that non-action also has consequences. . . .

JN: *Moving to Iran, I wonder whether the demonstrators on the street are to be encouraged. One thinks of Hungary in 1956, China in 1989 . . .*
CR: I think you always have to speak up for your principles, and you always have to let people who are living in tyranny or oppressed know that there's somebody who is concerned about them. And the President did issue a statement a couple of days ago. And I think such statements strike an important balance. I mean, you don't want to promise things that you can't do, but you have to speak up for freedom. You can't just ignore it.

JN: *People in the Middle East are—not to put too fine a point on it—lied to constantly: through their media, through their schools. Is there anything we can do to counter that?*
CR: We are thinking hard about how to have a better public-diplomacy effort in this part of the world. I think it's extremely important. You know, Voice of America and Radio Free Europe made a big difference in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in the days when [a free] press was not available.

The irony is that some Western press does get in. And in fact, I've been on al-Jazeera, Colin has been on al-Jazeera. We're working all the angles here.

JN: *Is it worth it [appearing on al-Jazeera, given that it refers to the 9/11 terrorists as "martyrs," etc.]?*
CR: Yes, I think it is worth it, because you may not know exactly whom you're reaching. But I think it's important to reach people. . . .

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JN: *Did you ever think you'd see a frontal attack on the soil of the United States?*
CR: In every simulation that I had taught, in everything that I had read, it was always a theoretical possibility, absolutely. Did I know it was possible? Yes. But I was shocked on the day that it happened. But I—when the second plane hit the World Trade Center, I knew what had happened.

JN: *Did you know who, as well?*
CR: Yes. We'd been doing a lot of work on al-Qaeda. We knew its MO. It looked like, smelled like, felt like al-Qaeda from the very beginning.

JN: *What's happened to the Europeans? I mean, a lot of us think that they've gone kind of mad with anti-Americanism. Are we going to have to look elsewhere for our friends? Are we coming to a parting of the ways? For as long as we can remember, it seemed that Europe and the United States was sort of forever.*
CR: I think it is forever. You know, I'll never forget standing at that desk on the morning of September 12th, and Nick Burns, our ambassador to NATO, calling to say, "NATO wants to invoke Article V."

JN: *Which stipulates?*
CR: An attack upon one is an attack upon all. The only time in NATO's history it was invoked. Fifty years of the Cold War, and we never used Article V, the collective-security guarantee. And the reason that NATO wanted to do it was values. It was an attack on values, and we knew that. And so we came back together after, you know, disagreements about Kyoto and disagreements about the [International Criminal Court], and all these things. We came back together on that day around a recognition that an attack upon one is an attack upon all, because our values are what unites us. . . .

JN: *Is our military up to it? Do we have the matériel, the personnel? A lot of people think we just don't have the goods.*
CR: No, we're up to it. We're up to it. This is a very powerful military. There's no doubt that some transformation needs to take place. We need to be able to move more quickly, we need to be able to integrate intelligence and strike-capability more rapidly. We learned a lot in Afghanistan about the kinds of capabilities that you need to do things—and NATO, by the way, needs to acquire those same kinds of capabilities.

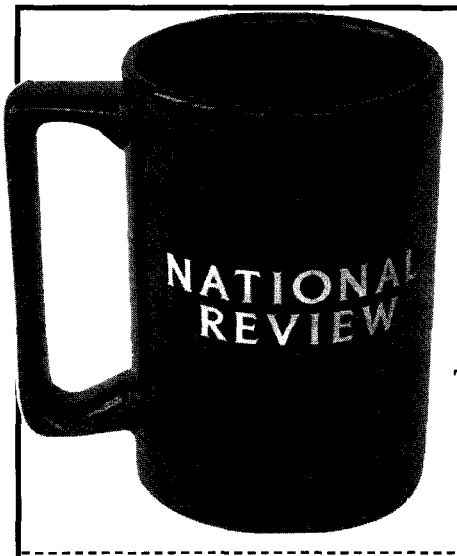
But this is an amazing military. And it's amazingly adaptable. There was no war plan on the desk for marrying 21st-century air power with the cavalry that was the Northern Alliance. I remember seeing the pictures of men on horseback and thinking, "These are the ground forces for our air power."

■

'It took a long time for these people to dig in; it's going to take a while to dig them out. And the American people, I think, are patient.'

■

JN: *What do you say to people who are impatient, who say, "We had a burst in Afghanistan, we took care of the Taliban; there are all these other arenas, dominos . . ." There seems to have been a kind of suspension.*
CR: Well, I would point people back to what the President said many months ago, that not every victory is going to be visible. And that it is going to take a long time. It took a long time for these people to dig in; it's going to take a while to dig them out. And the American people, I think, are patient. I think the President laid the groundwork—I can remember all the way back to the address to the joint session of Congress, that he was determined to get the message across that this was going to take a long time. And he said it may not be completed on our watch. **NR**



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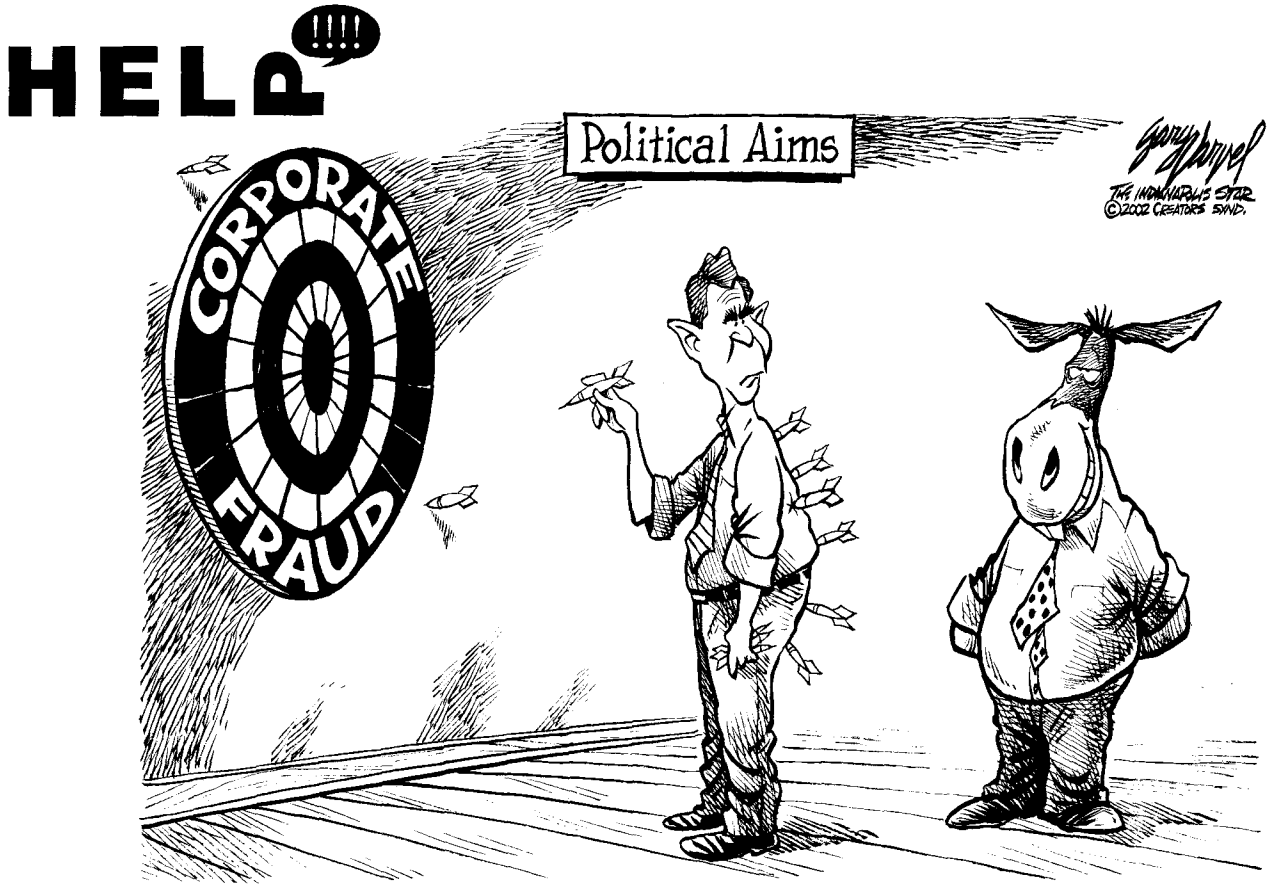

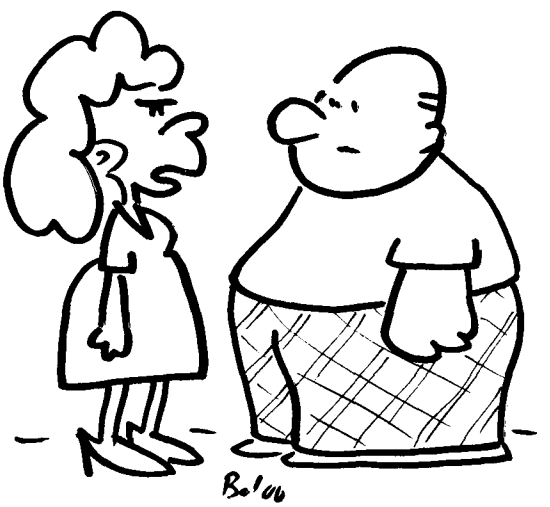

"Last night in bed you called me 'Sara Lee'!"

WHITHER SAUDI ARABIA?

Though friendly with the Bushes (both),
The princes lately have been loath
To pony up the way they did
The time Saddam played Captain Kidd;
The problem's what they sit on: oil.
If Fahd's successor comes to boil
(Fahd's gasping terminally), one
Prays Condi's homework has been done.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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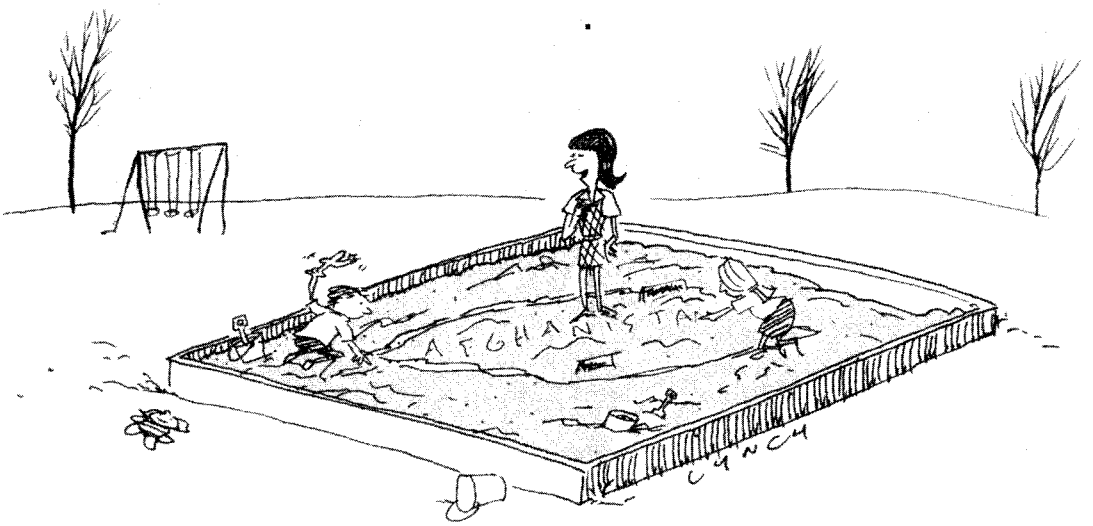
"WOULDJA' LOOK AT THE TIME?! GOTTA GO HARANGUE SOME CEOs FOR COOKING THE BOOKS!"



"It's my turn to be Christiane Amanpour."

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The Candidates' Diaries Installment 3: August 2002

From John McCain's diary:

. . . I didn't mean Jesus, of course—I mean, good Lord! I'm not some kind of crazy egomaniac—but certainly Jesus-like, in wisdom and divine powers of healing and in the sense of being the Son of God, sent to earth to save mankind from . . .

. . . and the whole underside, really from my belt loops almost to my knee, was sopping wet, which at first I thought was from the humidity, but then I remembered my breakfast meeting with the guys from the Times and the Post, and I made a mental note to stop being so forthright and compelling around those guys because they just can't sit and listen like normal people and it's weird to walk around the rest of the day with wet lip prints all over the back of my pants, and of course it gets in the way of my message, which is the importance, now that we've passed Campaign Finance Reform, of passing Campaign Finance Reform Reform, because the system, as it is, is corrupt and dishonest and filled with loopholes . . .

From Joe Biden's diary:

. . . years later, after the King's death, I asked Torcy, who had become my close friend, how it was that I came to be chosen for Rome. He protested that he had known nothing until the day of the council, save that someone was to be appointed and that the King did not want to create a new dukedom . . .

. . . the high price of everything, more especially of bread, was causing riots in every part of the kingdom. Paris had been the scene of several . . . Monseigneur, on his way to and from the Opera, had several times been held up by mobs. He recounted to me a particularly dreadful tale yesterday afternoon . . .

From Dick Gephardt's diary:

. . . and corporate corruption, which I think is going to be a big issue. People just don't like the idea of a company fudging the books and lying about revenue streams, and I think it's fair to point out that although we do very similar things in Congress, the difference is that we also print the money, so as not to pass these charges on to the taxpayer. (Note to self: Run this logic by staff before using on stump.)

. . . loans which were not illegal in the sense that no one knew about them at the time. But, luckily, everyone's focusing on other things right now, like the almost unbelievable poll numbers that . . .

From Tom Daschle's diary:

. . . where Al Gore polled over 50% in a recent Democratic voters poll for the 2004 race? And I'm supposed to trust those numbers? Of course, the same poll also said that I'm ticking down slightly in the "Reminds me of the creepy youth minister at my church" category, which is pretty good news, although I'm still trending up in the "would not accept a ride in his van" section, which I'm not even sure why they still ask that one . . .

From Chris Dodd's diary:

. . . some kind of quagmire in Iraq, with tens of thousands of American casualties and international scorn, is just not something I can really count on, unfortunately. So I think I'll stick with the biggies—abortion, deficits, etc.—and just hope for the best. But what am I really running for? I mean, do I really think I have a chance to . . .

. . . but by then it'll be too late to dig up all those names of all those girls, especially with the conventions coming so late, so I guess I should just keep my head down, don't play too dirty in the primaries, and hope to be on the short list for . . .

From Al Gore's diary:

. . . hello, my precious. It's been a while, oh yes it has. But things are looking bright, my little prince, my wonderful precious. Yes, bright, bright. Al has polled very well in the recent survey of likely Democratic presidential candidates, oh yes he did, my sweet prince, yes he did. Soon they'll all taste of my majesty. Soon they'll all rue the day they said, "Begone!" to the future King. Laugh at me, do you? LAUGH? Well, we'll see who laughs last, you miserable curs, we'll see! We'll see! . . .

. . . terrible headaches ever since that day in December 2000, with blackouts and . . .

. . . Hi, Daddy! Hi, Mommy! Won't you come play with me? For ever and ever and ever and ever . . .

. . . so many voices, I hear them, but Tipper doesn't. At night, during the day, voices, always, voices, shouting . . . screaming . . . telling me to run! Run! To fight! To really cut loose and be myself. Myselves. Oh God, the voices . . .

From John Edwards's diary:

. . . severely reduced dimpling along the left and right cheeks, resulting in a 23% loss of eye-twinkling ability and a general limpness of the hair follicles. Obviously, this has affected fundraising . . .

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The St. Peter Principle

JEFFREY HART

Why I Am a Catholic, by Garry Wills (Houghton Mifflin, 400 pp., $26)

EDWARD GIBBON was a historian of staggering knowledge. When a new scholarly work appeared, he tells us, he took a stroll in his garden. He reviewed in his mind the subject of the book and what he already knew about it. Then he skipped those parts and read only the remainder, an approach that saved much time. For many books, he probably read only the table of contents.

That, of course, was Gibbon. Before opening *Why I Am a Catholic*, however, I decided to try that great man's approach: I organized in my own mind what I consider to be the established reasons for being a Catholic. I reduced them to four propositions:

1. The Catholic Church is the fullest expression of Christianity as rooted in the entire Bible from Genesis through the New Testament. Christian departures from Catholicism strike me as diminishments, Reformation amounting to subtraction.

2. An institution that has evolved over time, especially over a very long period of time, surviving many vicissitudes, enjoys a presumption of validity. It has lived with us. It is the result of experience and reflection, the latter by minds agreed to have been towering, as well as by the collective mind of millions. It deserves an overwhelming presumption in its favor as over against the prescriptions of individual idealists who, in comparison, are but the flies of a summer and whose visions possess either no actuality or no continuing existence. Jacques Maritain was right when he began his late masterpiece, *The Peasant of the Garonne*, by thanking God for the visible Church. Yes, thank God—literally—for the visible Church. I am even beginning to develop a fondness for the smell of candles, bad sculpture, and very dubious architecture.

Garry Wills by Ismael Roldan

3. The Creed is absolutely fundamental, as Mr. Wills masterfully explicates, and the institution of the papacy is necessary to protect the Creed from homemade opinions. The papacy guarantees the unity of the Church against what John Dryden characterized as a "downhill Reformation" into sects and schisms and eccentrically inspired individuals. As Matthew Arnold said, the Protestant principle is "individual judgment"; yet the vast majority of people cannot do the hard intellectual work that validates the analogical formulations of the Creed. As a result, unusual homemade religions proliferate.

4. That the Church has had imperfections should not be viewed as dispositive evidence against it. God writes straight with crooked lines; this is true throughout the stories recounted in the Bible, and—as Garry Wills illustrates abundantly and very informatively—it is equally true of the history of the papacy. Father Andrew Greeley was correct when he said that "If you can find a Church that is perfect, by all means join it; but realize that, when you do, it has ceased to be perfect."

What is valuable, indeed irreplaceable, about the visible Church is addressed by Mr. Wills in this book, but he seems to be dragging it grudgingly out of his active and well-informed brain. Most of what he has to say about this historic institution is condemnatory; it apparently was wrong from the start.

That brings us to the genesis of *Why I Am a Catholic*. It is manifest here that Mr. Wills was both surprised and stung by the reaction of many Catholics to his 2000 book *Papal Sin*, the papal sin consisting of lies and cover-ups. The "structure" of the sin, he maintained, is lying to protect the Church from losing face, from scandals that might endanger its religious mission. (We have certainly seen quite enough of that recently from many Catholic bishops.) But many Catholics were outraged by Mr. Wills's comprehensive criticism of particular popes, and perhaps also by his tone of recrimination; they demanded to know why he considered himself a Catholic. This new book is his response, his testimony to and explanation of his religious beliefs. I find it moving, valuable, and persuasive: He is a Catholic. He is no Newman, but he felt obliged to respond, as Newman felt obliged to respond in his own famous apologia to Charles Kingsley.

Yet there remains in Mr. Wills's new book the same unsettling violence of emotion that marred his earlier one. In the opening autobiographical parts, he is candid in saying that on the very day he first entered a Jesuit seminary—to which institution he owes his formidable classical education—he considered leaving. Finally, he did. In cataloguing the lies and evasions of the popes he seems to have,

Mr. Hart, a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, is the author most recently of *Smiling Through the Cultural Catastrophe: Toward the Revival of Higher Education*.

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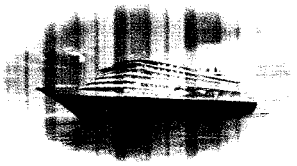


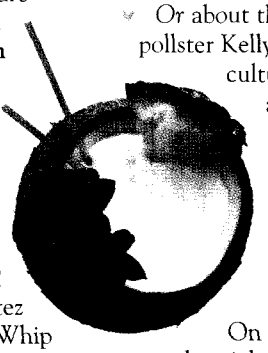
THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002
POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR, ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER, DINESH D'SOUZA, RAMESH PONNURU; TOM DELAY AND DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED!

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, and ace pollster **Kellyanne Conway**. They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for a relaxing week of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.



Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensembles—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

An *NR* cruise is your chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the true giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled five panel sessions on our Mexico sojourn—allow for ample audience "Q & A," providing a scintillating take on current events. Imagine:

- Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!
- Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!
- Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!
- Or about what's *really* happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!
- *Or* about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas or author Dinesh D'Souza?!

These conservative giants will be joined in political elucidating and sharp-shooting by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by William F. Buckley Jr., who will be ably assisted by Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, and Jay Nordlinger.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night poolside "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* ship. The *Ryndam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

On the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** you'll find the *Ryndam*'s accommodations (elegant staterooms and glamorous public spaces teeming with antiques) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat/Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun/Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur/Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri/Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat/Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

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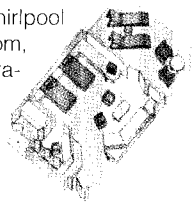
OVER 185 CABINS RESERVED ALREADY! DON'T DELAY, BOOK TODAY!
SPECTACULAR STATEROOMS STARTING AT ONLY $1,999 P/P!

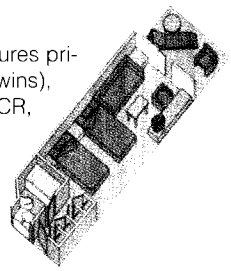
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Ryndam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,199 p/p for ages 2 and older, $752 p/p for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge service, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

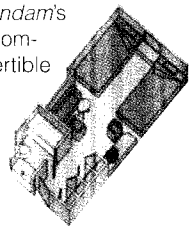
MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599
SOLD OUT

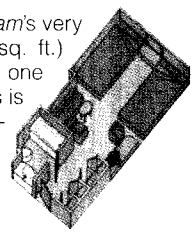
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,599

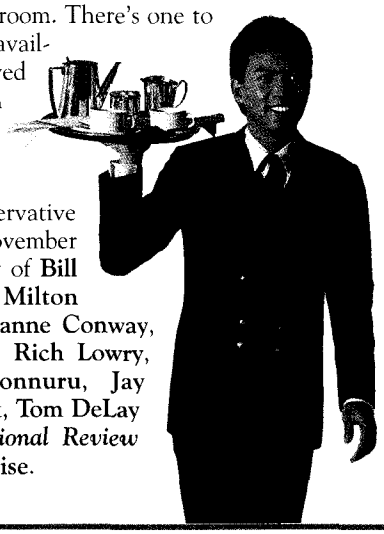
You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the remarkable destinations. The ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** will feature a balmy itinerary, starting in San Diego and—over seven glorious days around the "Baja California Sur"—visiting beautiful **Loreto, La Paz** (and nearby **Pichilingue**) and **Cabo San Lucas** (plus scenic cruising of "Sierra de la Giganta"). Here are some port highlights:

LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

Over 185 cabins have been reserved, many by *NR* cruise "alumni" (they come back again and again because of the wonderful experiences our trips provide). Sign up today and join them for on what will be one of the best weeks you will ever enjoy. Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it (by mail or fax) so you can secure your stateroom. There's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (available on a first come, first served basis). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.



Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of **Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.**

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National Review 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*
June 14, 2002 to Augus16, 2002	*$350 per person*
AFTER *August 16, 2002*	*100% of cruise/package* 04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class), and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
	Sacramento	289	IL	Chicago	549	MA	Boston	669		Binghamton	669	OR	Medford	369		Midland/Odessa	579		Edmonton	589
	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

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often, a kind of glee. And sometimes he is wrong. In this book, for example, he defends his treatment of Pius XII in *Papal Sin*:

> I did not claim, for instance, that he sympathized with Nazism; I do not think he did. I expressly stipulated that he might have had a justifiable fear that action on his part would hurt those it meant to help. I focused instead on his post-war claims that he had spoken out "several times" against the Holocaust. That was dishonest.

Here are the facts. On December 25, 1942, the *New York Times* editorially praised Pius XII's Christmas Message for that calamitous year—and it certainly did not characterize as "silence" the pope's appeal on behalf of "hundreds of thousands of persons who, without any fault on their own part, sometimes only because of their nationality or race, have been consigned to death or a slow decline." Here's what the *Times* editorial said:

> This Christmas, more than ever, the Pope is a lonely voice crying out of the silence of a Continent. . . . Because the Pope speaks to and in some sense for all the peoples at war, the clear stand he takes on the fundamental issues of the conflict has greater weight and authority. When a leader bound to impartiality to nations on both sides condemns as "heresy" the new form of national state which subordinates everything to itself, when he assails the exile and persecution of human beings "for no other reason than their race or political opinion" . . . the impartial judgment is like a verdict in a high court of justice. Pope Pius expresses as passionately as any leader on our side the war aims of the struggle for freedom.

Before he became pope, Pius had drafted Pius XI's strong anti-Nazi encyclical *Mit brennender sorge* ("With Burning Sorrow"). Because he spoke out so strongly in both cases, I suppose he might have done so "several" other times; he was hardly "dishonest" on this. Perhaps Mr. Wills was merely climbing on the fashionable bandwagon of Pius XII denigration.

On a quite different but much more important matter, Mr. Wills sometimes leaves the impression that he believes the Gospel narratives are weak as history. It may be true, for example, that the selections from prior material that went into the making of the Gospel of Mark were influenced by the doctrinal needs of a local church, but the figure of Jesus in that narrative is recognizably the same one as in the other narratives, which also have their own emphases. In my reading, Mr. Wills is simply wrong when he writes that as for this "main figure, Jesus, he is hieratic, moving through events as an embodied mystery, without any human psychology to be probed." C. S. Lewis thought Jesus to be one of the three most recognizable figures in narrative, the other two being Socrates and Samuel Johnson. (I would add Hemingway.) The voice of Jesus is unmistakable, not at all the voice of the narrators, who would have been incapable of inventing it. In a moment He could intuit the nature of a complete stranger, as He does in the case of the rich man who asks him what he must do to inherit eternal life. Jesus' presence must have been a powerful thing. Peter, on first meeting him, senses at once that He is something unusual; comical as Peter is, he does share a certain gift of perception with Jesus.

■

Mr. Wills is passionately a Catholic, but he has a turbulent and furious desire to reinvent the Church.

■

On the issue of the reliability of the Gospels, historian Stephen Neill gets it right: "When the historian approaches the Gospels, the first thing that strikes him is the extraordinary fidelity with which they reproduced, not the conditions of their own time, but the conditions of Palestine in the time and during the ministry of Christ." And no less than Paul himself testifies to a sense of the historical shared by the followers of Jesus. He writes in the famous passage, I Corinthians 15:3–6: "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep." This epistle antedates the earliest Gospel narrative; the story now had to be written down because the witnesses were dying off. But Paul knew that witnesses are necessary to sustain the claim of fact. The history that exists in the narrative has not been dissolved by an assortment of critical perspectives.

Why I Am a Catholic has a firm structure appropriate to its purpose as an apologia. Its introductory autobiographical section includes an interesting account of Mr. Wills's brief association with NATIONAL REVIEW—an association that foundered because of his approval of the revolutionary tactics of the black movement (in a glowing NR review of James Baldwin's contemptible *The Fire Next Time*) and of the antinomian behavior of the "kids" at Chicago in 1968. From all that, it was on to the Berrigans and other riffraff, and there I started to lose track of his rollicking adventures. The book then undertakes a long account of the rocky history of the papacy, an exaltation of Vatican II and John XXIII, and a setting forth of the terms on which Mr. Wills could approve of a much reduced papacy. It concludes with a masterful explication of the Creed.

Three writers who guide Mr. Wills throughout are Augustine, Newman, and Chesterton. Early in his career, Mr. Wills wrote a book on Chesterton; in 1999, he published a brief biography of Augustine that is a small classic. In the book under review he uses all three to excellent effect.

If *Why I Am a Catholic* has an adequate formal structure, emotionally it is a loose and baggy monster. Mr. Wills is passionately a Catholic; no one can doubt that. But he has a turbulent and furious desire to reinvent the Church, next Monday if possible, preferring his own vision to what in fact is or with prudent change might actually be. (A meditation on Montaigne's great essay "Of Experience" might calm his nerves.) All of which is merely to say that Mr. Wills is an intellectual—and he knows, if only intermittently, that while existence is the fulfillment of idea, this fulfillment often appears only slowly in time. Such, indeed, is the doctrine of Incarnation. **NR**

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Golden Coast

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

Embattled Dreams: California in War and Peace, 1940–1950, by Kevin Starr (Oxford, 386 pp., $37.50)

THOMAS MANN wrote of California's "serene Egyptian-like sky," a sky that sheltered him from Nazi fascism. Another European of the same era, a Brit, having danced with Governor Earl Warren's daughter Nina "Honey Bear" Warren, swooned at the thought of the tanned, blue-eyed girl from the Golden State. "I still see California through a faint golden haze," he recalled later, "engendered among the pale London faces by the peach-fed Honey-bear from Sacramento."

Of course California excites passions both ways, love and hate and little in between. A character in Chester Himes's 1945 novel *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, a black shipyard worker, rants against Los Angeles, that "most overrated, lousiest, countriest, phoniest city I've ever been in." Many have said more or less this about the whole state.

California and New York City are the two places in America that seem to arouse such definite feelings in visitors and natives alike. Other states and cities may—let's be candid—easily be mixed up with one another. A California native, I live in Washington State, a lovely place that I sometimes can't help confusing with Oregon.

No writer or historian who wants to be read would try writing a six-volume-plus history of Oklahoma or Ohio. But you might write one about New York, and Kevin Starr is completing a history of California that's already six volumes and so far he has covered only the 100 years since 1850. (Four years earlier, America had taken the California Republic, as it was known during a 23-day period of independence, from Mexico in a series of "battles" in which Mexican forces mostly declined to fight.) Starr's newest installment keeps up the standard of narrative excellence and all around historiographical enthusiasm that readers of his previous five books have come to expect. He is as much a fan of California as he is a straight academic historian, even getting worked up about topics as mundane as gas stations—"gas dispensed . . . from shiny and omnipresent Richfield, Texaco, Ethyl, Mohawk, Shell, and Mobil stations by uniformed attendants who wore chauffeur hats and bow ties." There is more than enough fascinating material to keep the series going, at this pace, through to the present day.

Mr. Klinghoffer is the author of a memoir, *The Lord Will Gather Me In*, and a biography of the patriarch Abraham (forthcoming from Doubleday).

In America's history, California has led the way—for better or for worse.

First of all, the state's history doesn't stop at the Nevada or coastal borders. It opens out onto the history of the whole country, as California leads the way for better or for worse, whether building the aircraft and ships that won World War II or bringing women into the workforce. By July 1943, men having gone off to the Pacific or Europe, women made up 42.4 percent of the workers in southern California's aviation industry, more than 10 percentage points higher than in the rest of the country. When women today go off each morning to drab "careers" just like men do, by way of demonstrating their equality, they can thank California for pointing the direction.

Starr, who is state librarian and teaches at USC, happens also to be a gifted storyteller with a flair for suspense. He strings you along, instilling curiosity about how a thread of the narrative will turn out, as in the chapter about 1941 (each chapter covers a single year), which is framed by a decision that Kozo Nishino, commander of the Japanese Imperial Navy's submarine I-17, had to make weeks after Pearl Harbor. Nishino hunted cargo ships off Washington and Oregon and proceeded to park off the coast of Santa Barbara. He could have shelled the town itself, killing untold numbers of civilians, but—as Starr waits till the end of the chapter to tell us—finally decided to content himself with firing across Pacific Coast Highway and taking out a couple of oil tanks instead.

The most colorful chapter is about 1947. It deals with crime and journalism, including the demise of Bugsy Siegel, the L.A. gangster who built Las Vegas, as well as that of Elizabeth Short, the "Black Dahlia," a 22-year-old would-be movie star whose naked body was found sawed in half on a vacant L.A. lot (this became the crime story of the decade). Starr has an eye for the luminous detail. For instance, on the night of his death Siegel told an associate he smelled flowers and asked if there were fresh ones somewhere about. The associate found none and later commented, "When someone smells flowers and there aren't any in the house, it means they're going to die." Shortly thereafter, a hit man representing mobsters to whom Siegel owed money leaned through the window with a .30/30 carbine.

While he keeps the story going, Starr never lets you get far before pausing for a little diamond of a character sketch of some great, notorious, or picturesque Californian, or someone who achieved celebrity as a result of his experiences there. We meet General Patton, of horsey, aristocratic, old San Marino-Pasadena descent, and Marilyn Monroe, who got her start in 1944 making parachutes for the Van Nuys Radio Plane Company. An Army photographer noticed her and, amid an extramarital affair, paid her $25 a day to pose for publicity stills as a typical assembly-line worker. Earl Warren, governor from 1943 to 1953 and the very essence of "Masonic blandness," gets a surprisingly engaging chapter to himself (1948). Starr's assessment of the man, whose years as chief justice of the United States produced *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, is shrewd. "The more one pushes into the Warren mystique, the more one is tempted . . . to

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detect behind the non-partisanship, behind the lifelong refusal to endorse other candidates, an egotism so great as to be heroic, for all its unpretentiousness."

The serious point Starr leaves you with is that in the 1940s California became . . . California. The transition was from a regional, insular state where citrus was the theme and agriculture was the main business even of Los Angeles County, to the edgy, international, and tech-oriented California of today. With aircraft-manufacturing by then being the principal work done by southern Californians, in 1945 "the Pacific Coast was no longer an economic colony of the East," providing raw material to be reworked elsewhere and relying on financing from the Atlantic states.

Starr finds hints of this passage to "world commonwealth" in the election of Richard Nixon in 1946, taking the congressional seat of Representative Jerry Voorhis. "There could be no greater evocation of two Southern Californias": Nixon the "pragmatic conservative" vanquishing the "anachronistic and vulnerable Voorhis, so redolent of EPIC [Upton Sinclair's End Poverty In California] and the crackpot idealism of the Depression," the "paradigm of the Fabian patricians who had helped create Southern California."

In the culture of California, the 1940s saw the emergence of trends that would later define the state and its state of mind. San Francisco, for example, was once the heartland of California-style xenophobia, viciously hostile to Mexicans and Japanese whom the *San Francisco Chronicle* assailed with such headlines as "BROWN MEN ARE AN EVIL IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS," "JAPANESE ARE A MENACE TO AMERICAN WOMEN," and "BROWN ASIATICS STEAL BRAINS OF WHITES." That was 1905. By 1943, when sex-art novelist Henry Miller took up residence at Big Sur, the Bay Area was on its way to a different political and social identity, a coastal bohemia specializing in phony mysticism and in sexual exploitation celebrated by men as women's "liberation."

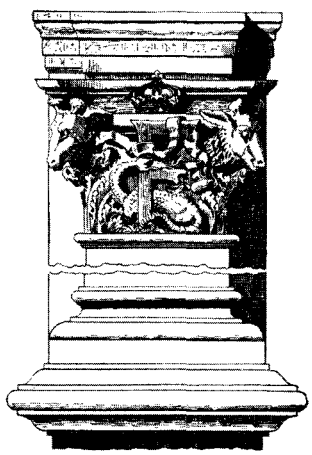
Starr traces the rise of the hippies to the 1943 Zoot Suit craze among Mexican Americans, which also featured eccentric clothing as a mode of social rebellion. (He has some amusing passages about the so-called Zoot Suit "riots," which resulted in only one serious injury. For all the drama generated in the press, all the "riots" really amounted to were U.S. soldiers and sailors prowling the streets of L.A. in search of Zoot Suit-wearers whom the servicemen proceeded to "de-pants.")

■

It isn't the old California of Jerry Voorhis that has cast a spell across the country and the world.

■

Other features of California, celebrated or notorious, made their initial appearance in the 1940s. Under Governor Warren, the billion-dollar freeway system was planned. Following a power struggle pitting the faculty against the Board of Regents, the University of California was set on its course to becoming the greatest public university system in the country. And Hollywood got political, seeing itself for the first time not merely as a source of entertainment but, "alongside government," as "a channel and determinator of national policy."



All of this was in some way tied to World War II, the watershed event in California history. The war brought the aircraft and shipping industries to the state, along with a huge inflow of population. When I was growing up, not one parent (that I can remember) of any of my friends had been born in the state, whereas all the kids were natives. We played in the deserted concrete bunkers that housed the gun batteries Californians assumed would protect them from the Japanese invasion that was sure to come after Pearl Harbor. As it turned out, the invasion was from elsewhere: from New York and Texas, New Jersey and Illinois. The entire state filled with foreigners—that is, people born outside California. Before the end of the war, more than a million had come to work in the aircraft industry and most stayed on after 1945. These were joined by 850,000 veterans who settled in California.

Through the war decade, the state's population grew by more than half, from 6.9 to 10.6 million. Starr gives a figure from December 1945, during which month 29,793 cars passed through Blythe, Ariz., on the way to California, carrying 82,179 passengers—almost every one intending to make the place his home.

The old stock, descended from 19th-century pioneers, lamented the vast change in the character of the state, and one hears even today faint echoes of their complaint. Not everything that hyperdevelopment has brought is to be celebrated. One night recently I was standing on a hillside viewpoint in the suburb where I grew up, looking out over the endless light grid of L.A., when I smelled something that cast me back to childhood. There was a eucalyptus tree there, lushly fragant, and I hadn't smelled one like that in decades because there are fewer trees in L.A. now than ever.

On the other hand, it isn't the old California of Jerry Voorhis that has cast a spell across the country and the world. For all its troubles, people still dream of California—the California of Richard Nixon, you might say—a confident, beautiful place, even sexy, untainted by the cloying self-regard one finds in some older, more distinguished states.

In 1962, California became the most populous state in the union. Soon thereafter, the Mamas and the Papas were singing "California Dreamin'." Michelle Phillips, who wrote the classic with her husband John, says hundreds of people have told her that on hearing the song, with its wonderful evocation of being "safe and warm if I was in L.A.," they immediately made plans to move West. It's not hard to believe. **NR**

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The Good Russian

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

Sakharov: A Biography, by Richard Lourie (Brandeis, 465 pp., $30)

It takes more than a Bolshevik to erase history. Lenin intended his revolution to be a clean break with the unruly, uncontrollable past, but, in the end, he failed. Remnants of the older—and, for all its faults, more humane—Russia succeeded in enduring through three-quarters of a century of Communist brutality. Andrei Sakharov, the subject of this new biography by Richard Lourie, may have been born in the formative years of the Soviet dystopia, but he is best seen as a child of the earlier, finer civilization that the revolution had been designed to destroy. Miraculously, he too managed to survive.

More than that, he was even—for a while—to flourish within the Soviet system. The regime knew how to promote talent as well as to punish it. Although Sakharov was never a party member, his scientific ability was enough to bring him into the inner circles of the Soviet establishment. It was his moral strength, however, that was to take him out again. It turned out that the enormously gifted scientist, an explorer of the impossibly complex, was to find fulfillment in his dedication to some very basic truths. Sakharov, the man who gave the Kremlin the H-bomb, became a champion of human rights and—in a delightful irony—an architect of the Soviet collapse.

It was an extraordinary journey, and any attempt to make sense of it must begin with an understanding of the Russian intelligentsia into which Sakharov was born—a group, as Lourie puts it, that is "something between a class and a clan." Its members were, and are, "educated people whose sense of honor and duty compels them to take action against injustice." But, as Lourie also notes, "Lenin and some of the other Bolsheviks [also] were of the intelligentsia, its crude and jagged cutting edge. And there were also spiritual extremists." Indeed there were. Those true believers still shouting Stalin's praise at the very moment his executioners gunned them down were no less representative of the intelligentsia than were those gentle, thoughtful folk found in Turgenev or Chekhov.

What these people had in common was the idea that it was they who should set (and live up to) the standards necessary to build a better Russia. They saw themselves as intellectually and morally superior both to the dangerous and benighted masses below and the crude and despotic rulers above. They believed that they were the nation's true elite, elevated and yet oppressed. Theirs was a state of mind prone to lethal naïveté and utopian fantasy, to dreams of a finer, purer way of life that were to pave the way for the Bolshevik nightmare.

That Sakharov inherited this utopianism can be seen from his "Reflections," the 1968 essay that marked his definitive break with the Communist regime. It was an extraordinarily brave attack on totalitarianism, strangely skewed by a lingering attachment both to collectivism and dopily enthusiastic futurism. Science fiction is blended with Stalinist mega-project ("Gigantic fertilizer factories and irrigation systems using atomic power will be built . . . gigantic factories will produce synthetic amino acids"). As Lourie notes, Sakharov at that time still had hopes of a worldwide socialist paradise, to be achieved by technological advance, heavy taxation, and "convergence" between "democratic socialism" and "the leftist reformist wing of the bourgeoisie."

If this dreamlike worldview was one aspect of Sakharov's fidelity to the traditions of the Russian intelligentsia, so too was his dedication to his work and the notion that he could somehow do something for the greater good. These are demanding standards to maintain in the best of times. Trying to live up to them in the moral slum that was the mid-20th-century Soviet Union was to lead Sakharov to a life of barely comprehensible contradictions. So, in the late 1940s, we find the future winner of the Nobel Peace Prize busily designing weapons of mass destruction, an apparently decent man conscientiously putting his talent for murderous innovation at the disposal of a regime already responsible for the deaths of millions the old-fashioned way.

Loyalty to his country (enhanced by memories of its huge wartime losses) was partly to blame, as were the shreds of belief in a Soviet future (the letter that Sakharov wrote to his first wife on the occasion of Stalin's death makes for nauseating reading). Ignorance, certainly, offered no alibi. Sakharov *knew*. The facility where he worked was built by slave labor. He wrote later that he saw them everywhere—"long lines of men in quilted jackets, guard dogs at their

Mr. Stuttaford is a writer based in New York.

BALCONY

"Please, just listen, and please don't turn around.
Keep staring at the sea. It's a marvellous view
tonight; the waves are beautiful, profound,
and so seductively close, just like you.
I love you. There, I've said it. I've seen it in
your eyes as well. Forgive me. I can't restrain
myself. Maybe it's seeing you move within
that dress, under the stars, sipping champagne.
And yet, we can't be lovers. Not now. Not ever.
So if you love me, stay here in the evening light
and never say a word." She didn't. Never.
He left, and didn't sleep at all that night,
watching his wife, thinking, although he knew
it was inadequate, "I love you, too."

—WILLIAM BAER

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heels"—but it did not stop him doing his best for the government that had imprisoned them.

Then something changed. This loyal servant of the Soviet state began asking awkward questions. And when he didn't get the answers he wanted, Sakharov did what very few dared do. He persisted—and it is the great weakness of Lourie's book that it never really explains why.

Superficially, the story is straightforward, and so is the way that Lourie tells it. Increasing concern over the dangers posed by the atmospheric testing of his nuclear devices led Sakharov to urge restraint. He was told, none too kindly, to keep his thoughts to himself and to get back to work, but he continued with his complaints, embarking on a voyage that would take him from privilege to protest, through gradual alienation to outright dissidence, internal exile, and, ultimately, triumph.

To be fair to Lourie, pinning down what drove Sakharov may be a hopeless task. This most public of dissidents was a private, reserved man. Aged about 50, he claimed to have only one close friend (a friend who subsequently let him down in a characteristically squalid, characteristically Soviet way); it is easy to detect a similar pattern of emotional distance in Sakharov's first marriage.

With Sakharov, however, there is always that capacity for surprise. Whatever the shortcomings in their relationship, he fell apart when his first wife died. A little later this quiet, dry, slightly prudish introvert found himself drawn to the lively, abrasive, and demanding Elena Bonner. Understandably enough, their partnership (they subsequently married) is often (and Lourie's book is no exception) discussed in a primarily political context, but it was, clearly, much, much more than that. This was a great romance, a grand, gorgeous late-flowering love affair that carried all before it, a light in the midst of totalitarian darkness, a bastion of integrity in a state that had none.

But those looking for the source of Sakharov's anti-Soviet struggle need to look further than Elena Bonner. She accelerated the process and made it more bearable for the beleaguered physicist (two against an empire is better than one), but this was a question of speed, not destination. By the time the pair first met, it was 1970—and Sakharov was already in irrevocable opposition.

The key to the puzzle must lie elsewhere. Readers of Lourie's book are given enough clues to draw some conclusions of their own. It is necessary to look again at the influence of what Sakharov once referred to as the intelligentsia's "inherited humanist values." Add those values to a demanding family tradition, courage, and a certain innate goodness, and we start to understand why Sakharov began asking those awkward questions, both of his government and of himself. And once he had begun, there could be no going back. Dedicated scientist that he was, Sakharov could not rest until he had arrived at the solution, no matter the cost.

This quest ought, one day, to be at the core of a more substantial biography. In the meantime, Lourie's book will do, not least because the stories it tells do give a good measure of the man that Sakharov became. Here's a wonderful example dating from the late 1970s (1978 according to Lourie; Sakharov in his *Memoirs* places it two years earlier). Bonner and Sakharov had been shown photographs of a dissident exiled to Nyurbachan, a settlement in a remote part of Siberia. Troubled by the look on the exile's face (that was all it took) they decided to visit him.

On the way to the airport, their taxi was rammed. Undaunted, they took another. The first leg of their journey brought them within 400 miles of their objective, but the next flight was "unexpectedly" delayed by 24 hours. They camped out at the terminal, and took the plane the next day. On landing, they were told that the bus to Nyurbachan had been canceled. There were still 15 miles to go. The secret police were obviously watching their every move. Lourie tells us what this indomitable duo, no longer young, no longer in good health, then did.

"Though it was getting dark, Sakharov and Bonner decided to walk . . . The forest path was moonlit, the air fresh, a Siberia of stars above the trees. They stopped for bread and cheese, sipping coffee from a thermos . . . All the KGB's machinations had only afforded them hours of happiness."

And, yes, they reached their destination. **NR**

Soldier of Contrasts

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life, by Carlo D'Este (Henry Holt, 672 pp., $35)

CARLO D'ESTE, a well-respected historian of the U.S. Army's battles in Europe during World War II and the author of an engaging and sympathetic biography of Gen. George S. Patton, has now written a massive narrative of Dwight D. Eisenhower's military career. It is comprehensive, well researched, and clearly the result of great diligence.

■

Eisenhower has tended to attract hagiographers.

■

Because of the plethora of prior Eisenhower biographies, however, the publisher promises new details of Eisenhower's life and a more honest investigation of some of Ike's character flaws. Such a reexamination would be welcome, because Eisenhower's subsequent presidency and his enthronement as an American icon have tended to promote hagiography; his military record has never earned the scrutiny given to that of his rival, Patton, who had fewer political allies and was as unpredictable and uncouth as Eisenhower was (usually) steady and circumspect.

D'Este recounts in great detail Eisenhower's meteoric career, capped by his appointment in December 1943 as commanding officer of the impending invasion of Europe. How did the relatively obscure colonel of 1941 leap to a five-star generalship in the space of four

Mr. Hanson is a historian and a columnist for National Review Online. He recently won the 2002 Eric Breindel Award for Excellence in Journalism.

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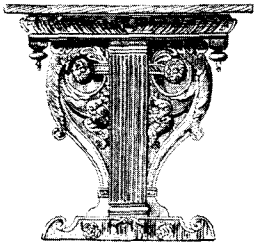
years? D'Este writes that Eisenhower had developed remarkable talents during the unsung years of his prior assignments. His work, travels, and reading prepared him well for his unexpected moment of destiny. A key moment in Eisenhower's career came in 1922, when he went to Panama to serve with an infantry brigade in charge of protecting the canal. His commanding officer there was the cagey Fox Conner, who had been instrumental in helping Gen. John J. Pershing create the American Expeditionary Force in World War I.

Conner supervised the 32-year-old Eisenhower's "graduate education"—assigning him night reading on Napoleon, Frederick the Great, and the Civil War, lecturing him about his own experiences with coalition warfare during the World War, and prepping him on the political intricacies of the peacetime army. Eisenhower later remarked of his time with Conner that "outside of my parents he had more influence on me and my outlook than any other individual." It was Conner who directed Eisenhower to his next and most influential mentor, George Marshall, who saw the young officer as precisely the organizational man to create a new professional army—one that would marry millions of draftees with new machines, and thus lead the American military through its transition from a constabulary cavalry to a mighty engine capable of defeating the Wehrmacht.



Himself a retired U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, D'Este knows how the military works. He is quite deft in sorting out the shifting relationships of patronage and the other circumstances that explain Eisenhower's amazingly swift promotion—and also Ike's uncanny knowledge of the bureaucracy and the difficulties it would face in fighting a coalition war in Europe.

This biography is not nearly as revisionist as advertised, in that it doesn't detract in the least from Eisenhower's sterling reputation. But D'Este does bring to our attention some important—and previously neglected—details. Eisenhower did not merely have a bad temper, for example: On occasion he totally lost his self-control—whether beating an apple tree with his fists as a child, banging his head against a wall when playing poor tennis, or punching his fist through the wall of a café. And he was an ambitious, career-driven workaholic, toiling seven days a week well before the war. He was plagued by ill health throughout his life, and his occasionally seriously debilitating illnesses—Spanish influenza, amebic dysentery, Crohn's disease, and bad knees—were exacerbated by lack of sleep, little exercise, and heavy smoking.

In one regard, D'Este is practically an *anti*-revisionist: He examines in detail the allegations that Eisenhower had an affair with his chauffeur, Kay Summersby, and comes to a rather curious conclusion. He discounts the considerable body of gossip, rumor, and innuendo on the grounds that Ike was too surrounded by aides and visitors for the requisite privacy: "When, where, or how, one can reasonably ask, could Eisenhower and Kay Summersby have carried on an affair had they so chosen?" Surely this is a question that needs no answer, in the post-Monica world. Nonetheless, Mamie Eisenhower—despite rumors of her drinking, petty jealousies, and petulance at Ike's absence and long hours with Summersby—comes across in this book as a sympathetic spouse, whose lifelong support for a sometimes self-absorbed, unexpressive, and often depressed husband was very important to his career.

D'Este is at his best on more specifically military matters. He skillfully describes Eisenhower's role in the well-known controversies of the Overlord campaign, and repeats many of the astute assessments he presented in his biography of Patton—most importantly, that Omar Bradley was an especially difficult and often mediocre commander, hardly deserving of Ike's constant praise and support. Indeed, D'Este is not nearly critical enough of Eisenhower for his backing of the ungrateful Bradley. This naïve trust often led to disastrous decisions—for example, the delays in closing the Falaise Gap that allowed thousands of Germans to escape the tightening Allied noose and retreat across the Seine, only to regroup in the Ardennes the following winter (with tragic results for U.S. forces).

D'Este is also a little off-base in his narration of Eisenhower's questionable decision to cease advancing into eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia in late April and early May 1945. It is easy to count Soviet casualties in Berlin, cite the specter of a new war with the Russians, and rely on the old canard that generals should not intrude too much into diplomacy; but there is good reason to believe that the Germans would not have defended Berlin against U.S. soldiers with the same intensity they exhibited in fighting the Russians. Furthermore, Eisenhower was strangely obsessed with a mythical "National Redoubt" of purported Nazi diehards, even as millions nearby came under brutal Russian occupation; a different perspective at the top of the Allied leadership might have prevented, or at least reduced the scope of, a half-century of Communist domination of Eastern Europe.

What comes through in D'Este's

LEGACY

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account—though he doesn't explore it in any great depth—is a recurring indecisiveness and even occasional timidity in Eisenhower's command. Throughout the war, Eisenhower seemed more comfortable with mediocrities like Bradley, Courtney Hodges, and Mark Clark than with the more audacious but less likeable Patton and Montgomery. Some of Eisenhower's crucial decisions—for example, curtailing Patton's promising advance in the Lorraine and opting instead for Montgomery's disastrous Market Garden airborne operation—were attributable in some degree to his inability to put aside personal biases and political considerations. In Market Garden and other cases, had Eisenhower made his decisions strictly on the military merits, and rewarded only commanders with proven records, thousands of American lives might have been saved.

D'Este is right, of course, in emphasizing in countless asides the positive attributes of Eisenhower's character—honesty, incorruptibility, and diplomatic acumen—all of which were critical in managing a coalition war with sometimes zany underlings like Patton and Montgomery, who were both more talented and more erratic than their supreme commander. Still, D'Este's Eisenhower is less an inspired general with a singular vision of how to defeat the enemy than he is a competent CEO in charge of vast operations on two continents, without the genius to fathom who was doing what best.

The book's carefully argued litany of Eisenhower's foibles—coupled with admiration for the general's sobriety and judiciousness—leaves the reader with a question that D'Este's one-page epilogue can't answer: Was Ike a colorless and mediocre careerist, or a rare rock of good judgment in a sea of craziness, or both? In the absence of a clear conclusion on these matters, D'Este's even-handed portrait ends up as yet another tribute to Eisenhower's basic decency. Thus the central tenet of the historical consensus about Eisenhower stands unchallenged: He oversaw the greatest amphibious invasion in history, and the subsequent overrunning and destruction—in less than twelve months—of the very center of Hitler's Germany. In managing all that, Ike must have been doing something right. **NR**

A Nero as Hero

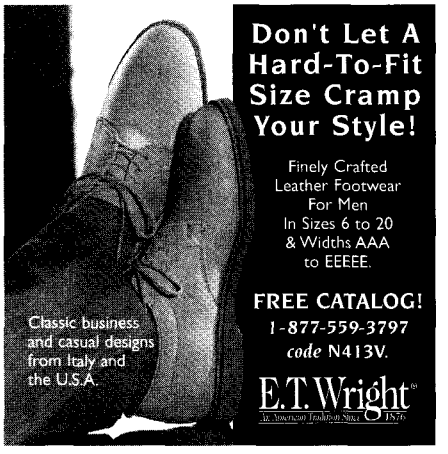
TERRY TEACHOUT

SOME cable networks are destinations, others way stations. Arts & Entertainment has long been one of the latter, a vaguely defined middlebrow enterprise across which one occasionally stumbles while channel-surfing. I've seen *Biography*, its best-known series, a couple of dozen times, but never deliberately—only in passing, usually when I'm killing time in a hotel room and can't find anything better to watch. Hence it is with no small amount of surprise that I now find myself tuning in A&E every Sunday night to keep up with the doings of a monstrously fat private detective who swills beer by the case, fusses over his thrice-daily gourmet meals, dresses in sunflower-yellow shirts, and grows orchids in a greenhouse on the roof of his Manhattan brownstone, whose threshold he crosses only when compelled by the threat of impending arrest.

Older readers will need no further introduction to Nero Wolfe, the larger-than-life hero of 73 novels and novellas written by Rex Stout between 1934 and his death in 1975. For most of his long life, Stout was acclaimed as one of America's best mystery writers—even Edmund Wilson, who despised the genre, grudgingly admitted that he "rather enjoyed" Wolfe—and though his star has faded a bit in recent years, paperback editions of his books are still kept in print on a rotating basis by Bantam.

A half-dozen prior attempts have been made to bring Wolfe to TV, radio, and the movies, and all have failed dismally. Not so A&E's *Nero Wolfe*. It isn't perfect, but it comes close, in part for the simplest of reasons: Timothy Hutton and Michael Jaffe, the executive producers, have chosen to stick as closely as possible to the source. Each episode is based on a Stout story (the novels are done as two-parters, the novellas in single hour-long episodes). The plots are left intact, and large chunks of dialogue are lifted straight off the page. If you've read *Death of a Doxy*, *Too Many Clients*, or *The Mother Hunt*, you won't find anything surprising about the A&E versions.

Mr. Teachout is the author of *The Skeptic: A Life of H. L. Mencken*, forthcoming in November from HarperCollins.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To be sure, faithfulness to the original is no guarantee of success when translating a familiar novel to the screen. More often than not, literal adaptations are redundant at best (why bother?), maladroit at worst. Novels aren't meant to be played out in real time, and even when the action is scrupulously compressed, you still have to find actors and actresses capable of fitting the preconceptions of viewers who've already read the book. As a general rule, the better bet is to treat the source material as a point of departure—the way Amy Heckerling did when she turned Jane Austen's *Emma* into *Clueless*—rather than following it slavishly, but that approach is impossible when the novel in question is a cult classic. Rex Stout fans want to know exactly what the brownstone on West 35th Street "really" looks like, though they expect it to bear a close resemblance to the one in their heads, just as they have the strongest possible opinions about what Nero Wolfe looks and sounds like, not to mention Archie Goodwin, his wisecracking assistant, and all the other inhabitants of Stout's elaborate imaginary world. That's an awful lot of experts to please.

That *Nero Wolfe* should be so pleasing has at least as much to do with the casting as the scripts. In addition to coproducing the series and directing several episodes, Timothy Hutton plays Archie Goodwin, and I can't see how anyone could do a better job. Not only does he catch Archie's snap-brim Thirties tone with sharp-eared precision, but he also bears an uncanny physical resemblance to the dapper detective-narrator I've been envisioning all these years. No sooner did Hutton make his first entrance in *The Golden Spiders* than he melded completely with the Archie of my mind's eye. I can no longer read a Stout novel without seeing him, or hearing his voice.

Still, Archie could have wandered out of any number of screwball comedies; Nero Wolfe is a far more complicated proposition. Weighing in at a seventh of a ton, he is a tireless talker endowed with a touch of Johnsonian genius. (It is no small tribute to Stout's own brainpower that he was capable of making that characterization plausible.) At the same time, he is chronically lazy and neurotic to the highest degree, so much so that he refuses to leave his home on business, preferring to sit at his desk or tend his orchids. Like Sherlock Holmes, the predecessor on whom he was obviously modeled, Wolfe is a misogynist who will have nothing to do with women socially—food, not sex, is his sensual outlet—though every once in a while he gives off a faint but perceptible flicker of interest in one of the pretty ladies who pass through his office.

■

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■

Maury Chaykin has doubtless immersed himself in the Wolfe novels, for he brings to his interpretation of the part both a detailed knowledge of what Stout wrote and an unexpectedly personal touch of insight. He plays Wolfe as a *fearful* genius, an aesthete turned hermit who has withdrawn from the world (and from the opposite sex) in order to shield himself—against what? Stout never answers that question, giving Chaykin plenty of room to maneuver, which he uses with enviable skill. His Nero Wolfe is gluttonous, blustery, petulant, even a bit dandyish—but he peers out at his clients through the haunted eyes of a man who knows too much.

Chaykin and Hutton are as good in tandem as they are separately, for they understand that the Wolfe books are less mystery stories than domestic comedies, the continuing saga of two iron-willed codependents engaged in an endless game of one-upmanship. Archie may be Wolfe's hired hand, but he is also an undefinable combination of servant, goad, court jester, and trusted confidant. His relationship with Wolfe is by definition uneasy, intimate but never affectionate—it's plain to see that he loves Wolfe like a father, but inconceivable that he would ever admit such a thing—and so the intimacy is transformed into a daily contest for dominance. At least half the fun of the Wolfe books comes from the way in which Stout plays this struggle for laughs, and Chaykin and Hutton make the most of it, sniping at each other with naughty glee.

The other continuing characters have been cast almost as deftly, especially Bill Smitrovich as the long-suffering Inspector Cramer, who spends most of his on-screen time yelling vainly at Wolfe, and Colin Fox as Fritz, Wolfe's live-in chef, who tolerates the great man's tantrums without stooping to subservience. Most of the secondary characters are drawn from a stock company of little-known performers who do an excellent job of changing hats from week to week. (Guest stars are rare, though George Plimpton pops up now and then, usually as a WASP lawyer.) Best of all is Kari Matchett, a *jolie laide* with a sharp nose and a long neck who specializes in femmes fatales of various kinds, as well as playing Lily Rowan, Archie's on-again–off-again ladyfriend. Be she victim or villain, she is at all times funny, sexy, and a wicked scene-stealer.

Like so many other TV series and movies purporting to be set in New York, *Nero Wolfe* is in fact shot in Toronto on a very low budget, most of which appears to have been spent on period costumes and a painstakingly detailed, near-impeccable reproduction of Wolfe's office, in which roughly a third of each episode takes place. The other sets are built on the cheap, and the exteriors don't even attempt to look authentic—a major failing of the series, since Stout's novels are as redolent of Manhattan as Raymond Chandler's are of Los Angeles—while anyone closely familiar with the original novels will have no trouble spotting occasional solecisms. (Wolfe would *never* listen to classical music at mealtime, if ever!)

Needless to say, none of this matters in the slightest. Like all good detective stories, the Nero Wolfe novels are not primarily about their settings, or even their plots. They are conversation pieces, witty studies in human character, and for all its flaws of execution, A&E's *Nero Wolfe* never fails to bring its principal characters to life. I can't say whether it will appeal to those who aren't already members of the Wolfe pack, but speaking as a hopeless addict who bought his first Rex Stout paperback at the age of 13, I'm already looking forward to the third season. **NR**

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CORRECTION
(though not our fault)

In the July 15th issue, the "artist-designer" lady in the above ad listed her e-mail address as: artistbarb@yahoo.com. Alas, that e-mail designation belongs to someone else. How this can happen is beyond me, and in my opinion, someone at Yahoo should be held accountable. I've been using e-mail since 1984, and have never, *ever* heard of two people having the same address.

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Dying Words on Health

NEW YORK, JULY 2

THE health question is a mess. The GOP, for all that it is fighting a rear-guard action, has no real handle on it. The Democrats are progressively lured to some variant of the position that medicine should be free. It is only left to define "free." My own definition, used before in this space, is that free medicine is medicine paid for by somebody else.

The problem is rough already, given the high cost of drugs. But consider this: An informed scientist advises a friend that "drugs are now in the pipeline that will cure heart disease in five years. This will add 13 years to the actuarial tables for longevity." At this rate, they're going to have to come up with a medicine that will allow us to die.

To focus on relatively mundane problems, in search of perspectives:

The typical senior who lacks drug coverage pays less than $600 a year for medicine.

The easiest way to handle that problem, surely, would be a government grant of $600 to that body of Americans, with the frosting that any amount of it not actually spent on medicine is the recipient's to keep. That way there's an incentive.

But what about the person who spends more than $600? The government could provide him with insurance for expenses above that amount, charging realistic premiums, deductibles, and co-payments (with allowances for poverty).

Now the bizarre case could be made that any arrest in devising fresh life-prolonging drugs should be philosophically welcome, since we can't live forever. But finding the cure for heart disease or cancer or AIDS isn't going to reduce the demand for cures for acne or corns. The public will reasonably look for medicine to assuage any physical (or indeed, mental) problem even though the pursuit of health is asymptotic—you can't stop death.

But in the meantime, you can impose great pain on the public, unrelated to disease. We face very large problems, one of them, how actually to pay the cost of medicine, the second, how to pay for it without stultifying young and middle-aged Americans' lives.

The conceptual problem is ever so easy to describe. In a society in which people stop working at age 65, the longer they live, the greater the drain on those who are less than 65. Medical costs and Social Security are paid for in part by contributions while under 65, but after a while, the elderly are wanting subsidies. These the Democratic party would profusely provide, the GOP more sparingly, with certain inducements to shop around for cheaper care.

But as the bulletin from the heart specialist reminds us with a thunderclap, we can't keep this up for very long. The penalty on the productive quarter of the working force would be intolerable. If the life span increased by 13 years, the burden of maintaining the elderly would be roughly the equivalent of the cost of raising the young. A newborn does nothing except create expenses for his parents until about age 16. Children are passive economic members of the community during that period, and when they reach 65, they will again become passive economic members of the community.

For how long, is the question.

Will our political leaders suggest serious revision in the retirement age? Let us say, to 72?

Run on that platform in the next election, and you'll be ready for one of those killer pills.

"What do you guys think—waves or particles?"

Portable Immunity

NEW YORK, JULY 9

IT is a fair criticism that the administration's rejection of the ICC hasn't been persuasively explained to our allies, let alone to the Third World. All that the international public is getting is: The United States alone refuses to submit its personnel to the International Criminal Court. This U.S. action is arrogant, contumacious, and a burden on the machinery of justice.

In fact the decision of the Bush administration was strategically wise. The difficulty lies in explaining to non-Americans why this is so.

Everyone with any experience driving through the international diplomatic thoroughfare knows that the experience can be nightmarish for Americans. We hear honking horns every minute, the mini-policemen at intersections stop us repeatedly, they allege that we have violated the traffic laws in this and that way, often while deposing that other nations were not guilty of similar offenses. I was a U.S. public delegate at the United Nations General Assembly's 43rd session, in charge of the Third Committee (human rights), and concluded a study of voting patterns on terrorism, colonialism, the Mideast, nuclear proliferation, and the recognition of revolutionaries and governments-in-exile. The only country that voted with the United States 100 percent of the time was South Africa and in 1973 South Africa was a white man's club. The U.S. voted 14 times on controversial issues. Great Britain was with us 64 percent of the time, France 43, Italy 36, Germany, Greece, and Denmark 29, Japan 21. Most nations were with us half the time, or less.

Now a country's vote in the United Nations is not the indelible fingerprint of national probity. But the record is instructively there to remind us that the U.S. disagrees with much of the world. That is as would be expected—the United Nations did not anticipate unanimity. On the contrary, it gave special protections to a few nations by extending them a veto in the Security Council. The United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and China were told that they would never need to submit to U.N. policies they disapproved of. All

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they needed to do was exercise their veto. This, of course, was regularly done by the Soviet Union, 1945–1991.

Since 1945, the United States has grown hugely in relative power, indeed it is the only superpower. This means that we uniquely can have our way by force of arms, but it means also that commensurate obligations are imposed on us. In economic trade, we agree to acknowledge the authority of the World Court to opine on differences, but we are at liberty to defy the court's judgments. In war and peacekeeping, the position of the government is that no international court may assert jurisdiction over an American citizen. One reason for it is that sassing Big Brother is a quite universal temptation. There are here and there (most notably in Spain) jurisprudential exhibitionists who would love to haul in the American general in charge of bombing weddings in Afghanistan and Chinese embassies in Belgrade.

It's not a bad idea to keep on talking about how to devise better means of guarding against jurisprudential opportunism. We acknowledge the authority of most laws of most other countries (we would agree to jailing an American who stole in Saudi Arabia, but not to chopping off his hand). In 1951 we passed the Status of Forces Agreement with the NATO countries, and have relied, in principle, on the proposition that American soldiers must be held accountable when violating the laws of countries in which they are doing military duty. And we are not alone in holding out on the ICC. Russia has not ratified the treaty, and it hasn't even been signed by China or India.

The word to get out to our allies is that their primary concern should be to effect U.S. cooperation in peacekeeping exercises. And that means reassuring Congress, which finances and ultimately authorizes such ventures, that Americans aren't going to be held up by a foreign court.

Reincorporating Bush

NEW YORK, JULY 12

IT's hard to know what exactly the critics of President Bush want. What they are saying is: 1) The reforms Mr. Bush is proposing would have forbidden corporate maneuvers he engaged in in 1990. And 2): He didn't go far enough in backing reforms that are needed.

The performance of the commander in chief, riding horseback, sword flashing in his charge to save the national economy, was accompanied by ghoulish wallpaper, as they term it in cyberlanguage. As he spoke, a little ticker-crawl under the screen recorded the movements of the seasick market. Every time he uttered a sentence, it seemed, the Dow would go down a notch. It was the equivalent of a movie director crying and tearing off his shirt while the star is reciting her lines.

Viewed as pure drama, it is not easy to know what a president could do to raise the market there and then. He might say that he would propose to Congress the next day a 50 percent reduction in the business tax. That would bring on speculative buying, but conservative thunderclouds would gather, unless he thereupon said that he would reduce government expenditures by an equivalent amount.

Hmm. Suppose he had said he would ask the government to reduce the tax of anyone by the amount spent in the next 24 hours buying stock. That's cartoonville for you but serves the purpose of suggesting the limits of presidential power as affecting market upturns. It is an economic truism that many things can be done by the public sector to depress market conditions, but practically none to cause people to buy stocks. Buying is a groundswell, not an avalanche.

But the emphasis of the past few days has been on the personal record, and therefore the character, of the president. Mr. Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal* chooses his language carefully. "Harken Director George W. Bush pocketed over $300,000 by selling weeks before the company reported unexpected bad news. If nothing else, this certainly impacts his credibility as a crusader against corporate abuse."

Oh? Did the old ways of Augustine impugn his preachments on changing his ways? Should St. Paul have stopped preaching? Was George W. Bush's background as a tippler disqualifying of his resolution to sobriety?

What critics seem to be saying is that anybody who drove over 60 miles per hour back when it was legal to do so, can't persuasively call for reducing the speed limit. That is not only bad psychology, it leaves the president absolutely helpless. His critics aren't saying so in as many words, but what it would seem to add up to is: Resign, because you are morally unequipped to lead the country to salvation.

There are those who believe that a law should forbid accountants from acting both as auditors and consultants. The proposal would appear perfectly reasonable, but has the shortcoming of a law that would forbid a doctor who advises on stomach ailments from advising also about throat problems. The deficiency in the proposed reform was early on targeted by economist Lawrence Kudlow, who said that reforms appropriate to large corporations could be severe and even unsupportable burdens for a hundred thousand smaller corporations. Well, what about the proposal for an oversight board to pass on the procedures of accountants?

That suggestion is not extreme, but why should that be an object of legislation? There are legal and medical associations that pass on practices of their members. Why should not the same pattern be followed in corporate affairs?

One comes then to the inevitable money side of the question. Why did the president ask for a mere $100 million more for the SEC, considering that some in Congress had already proposed three times that much?

Well, one answer to that is that Congress wants to spend three times as much as the Executive on that particular nosebleed. That doesn't in itself tell us that the president is underrating the problem, or unwilling to spend as required to remedy it.

What galls is the willingness of the critics this time around to suggest the disqualification of a chief executive who in past days used practices, however common, which we are now called upon to reject as abusive of refined corporate manners.

Applying such standards retroactively to other presidents, and to Congresses, how would we justify any respect for any president in modern history, let alone any Congress? Government alone, Lord Keynes reminded us, has the power to debauch the currency. How should we treat Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Clinton, under whose tutelage the value of the dollar traveled from approximately 100 cents to 35 cents? And the Congresses that permitted this inflation by overspending? How is it that we are now supposed to be confident that this Congress, and this president, will effect reforms?

The answer is: We can't be confident reforms will be effective. But we are confident we can disregard phony arguments against the qualifications of Mr. Bush to preside over his own reforms.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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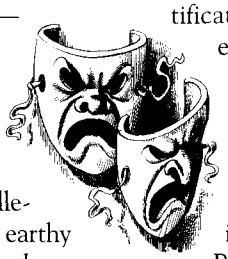
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

My "Ugh" column really struck a nerve. So many of you sent me examples of offensive ads and clippings that I must now be in possession of the largest collection of pictures of toilets outside the ranks of the National Association for the Advancement of Coprophilia.

I have enough for the sequel some of you requested, but rather than labor the point I decided to turn the tables on you and write about the kind of explicitness that doesn't bother me a bit—that, in fact, I enjoy.



Father Flanagan said, "There's no such thing as a bad boy"; adoption pioneer Edna Gladney said, "There are no illegitimate children, only illegitimate parents"; and I say that earthy subjects are offensive only when they are badly presented.

Take laxative commercials. They usually feature a construction worker on a high building or a sports fan trapped in the uppermost stadium tier, praying that the harsh laxative they took won't "kick in" then and there.

"Kick in" is an updated version of "hit the fan" and is intended to trigger the same mental picture. But after the sufferer switches to the advertised brand, the Vesuvian imagery is replaced by the drumbeat of "gentle," "regular," "relaxed," and "natural," prompting our mind's eye to visualize a parade horse effortlessly producing huge curls of manure and dropping them along the route with that equine nonchalance that never fails to make children and other oafs smirk and snicker. These ads run the gamut of bathroom humor from spew to plop in 30 seconds, yet the industry considers them inoffensive, and worse, "creative."

Madison Avenue must have a treasonous mole burrowing in its midst because there is one series of laxative ads that departs from the formula. I always enjoy watching them because they follow the rules for high comedy and succeed as clever entertainment: the Phillips Milk of Magnesia couple, Lucille and Raymond.

Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

Lucille constantly embarrasses her husband with her eerie talent for turning any conversation around to his constipation. She apparently carries a bottle of Phillips in her purse at all times, and whips it out at parties, merrily rattling on about Raymond's "problem," ignoring his hisses and frantic signals to shut up. The spots are funny because Lucille is utterly lacking in insight and self-knowledge. If she smirked, if she noticed Raymond's mortification, if she ever once exhibited even a shred of self-consciousness, the ad would be offensive. But because she's incapable of realizing that anything is amiss, her obtuseness rescues the ad from bathroom humor and turns it into comic material worthy of Burns and Allen.

Lucille is a classic example of that staple of wit, the "Candide character," the innocent and/or dense person who has no idea what is going on. Virtually any subject can be funny as long as a Candide is present to provide the salvaging innocence, but if everyone is in the know, it becomes vulgar.

The absence of the Candide figure is what makes American sit-coms so raunchy. It's not so much what the characters do or say, but rather that they all snicker and smirk. By contrast, British sitcoms turn unawareness into pure gold.

In *Keeping Up Appearances*, the eternally thwarted social climber Hyacinth Bucket (she insists on pronouncing it "Bouquet") has been so successful in steeling herself against unpleasant realities that she is no longer capable of placing a correct interpretation on anything.

She has no idea that her son, Sheridan, is gay. He never appears as a live character, but the audience doesn't need to see him to catch on—Hyacinth's end of their phone calls tells us all we need to know: "You and your friend Tarquin are doing the ironing? Oh, that's nice, dear. . . . You and Tarquin aren't interested in girls? Oh, Sheridan, you don't know how much that warms a mother's heart! . . . You're wearing a knee bandage? Oh, you must look like Mummy's little soldier! What, dear? Oh, well, then, Mummy's little poet or interior designer."

Just as *Jaws* was scarier before we saw the shark, keeping Sheridan off-camera enlists the innocence of the audience for greater comedic effect. If the scriptwriters permitted Sheridan to appear and be as campy as he obviously is, the Candide device would be dismantled and the comedy would turn into broad farce.

I have often said that movies could be censored without attention to religious or family values. All you need is a knowledge of the rules of literary structure, but sadly, the wrong people tend to be censors.

In 1953 the Maryland Board of Motion Picture Censors banned *The Captain's Paradise*, starring Alec Guinness as the bigamous captain of a ferry boat running between Gibraltar and Tangiers, with Celia Johnson as his prim English wife and Yvonne De Carlo as his sultry Moroccan wife.

All goes smoothly until the unfortunate Christmas when he gets their presents mixed up. He gives the Brit a bikini and the sex kitten an apron, but both are overjoyed because Celia has always longed to be sexy and Yvonne has always longed to be domestic. The humor springs not from the bigamy but from an innocent mistake. If he had mixed the gifts up on purpose it would be a movie about a bigamist playing sex games, but the accidental element underscores the theme of human contrariness and gives the story a valuable moral: Don't take people for granted because there is more to them than meets the eye; everyone has a secret life.

As for nudity, it's okay if it's female, but one skin shot I would censor purely for aesthetic reasons is the rear view of the male. Is there anything more depressing than a man's behind? Narrow and shrunken, a stunted little thing, a nether afterthought, the behind that Nature forgot. I've often wondered how men can sit comfortably; it's a wonder the bones don't break through. Why do moviemakers think we want to look at such a study in pathos? Visual pleasure demands an hourglass; a tiny waist that suddenly blossoms into undulating curves to form the most comfortable seat a backyard swing set ever had—now *that's* a behind. **NR**

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How Could Anyone Vote to Export More U.S. Jobs?

The arithmetic of trade is quite simple. More U.S. exports increase American jobs. More foreign imports destroy American jobs.

For too many years, U.S. imports have exceeded U.S. exports by hundreds of billions of dollars, steadily destroying good paying American manufacturing jobs – 1.3 million in the past year alone.

Soon, both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives will vote on an omnibus "fast track" trade bill that, if enacted, will continue to hollow out our manufacturing base, destroy manufacturing jobs and dramatically increase our trade deficit. Consider what else this bill does. It:

- Allows the United States Trade Representative (USTR) to negotiate more job destroying deals, such as NAFTA, under "fast track" rules, which limit debate, prohibit amendments and corrupt the democratic process.
- Allows for the weakening of America's dumping and countervailing duty laws, which are U.S. manufacturers last defense against predatory foreign trade practices.
- Allows for enhanced unilateral market access to the U.S. for 76 specific countries without asking any reciprocity in return - trade as aid.
- Allows our manufacturing worker, paid an average of $29,000 annually, to be replaced with an endless pool of penny-wage foreign workers paid less than $800 per year.
- Allows offshore manufacturers the unfair advantage of an open U.S. market with low duty rates, while evading all our health, safety, and environmental regulations.
- Allows for growing U.S. dependence on Chinese and other foreign manufacturers to supply our vital military components – putting our national security at risk.
- Allows for the continued transfer of U.S. economic strength into foreign hands, hastening the collapse of the dollar.

A vote for fast track is a vote to increase our trade deficit, weaken our national security, undermine our financial stability, and export even more manufacturing jobs. We think this is too much to risk. What do you think?

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KEITH JONES: FATHER OF 2, GUARDIAN OF 300,000.

When Keith Jones started working part-time at UPS, he was a college student who dreamed of becoming a high-school guidance counselor. But pretty soon, his work ethic led to bigger opportunities. Keith got a chance to run a UPS distribution center. Then he opened a UPS facility in Hong Kong. And today, as Director of Corporate Health and Safety, he watches over 300,000 UPS employees. So, in a way, he got to be a guidance counselor after all. He just never dreamed he'd have so many to care for.

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